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THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

GUY CARLETON LEE, PH. D.

OF

JOHNS HOPKINS AND COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITIES, EDITOR

EDITORIAL EDITION

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FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA

Founder of the missions in California.

After the painting by Don Christoval Dia, in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

VOLUME X

THE PACIFIC SLOPE AND ALASKA

BY

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Oregon, the land of the mighty pine and the abounding salmon; California, the land of gold and luscious fruit; Idaho, whose output of valuable ore is matched by the product of her grazing plains; Washington, whose possibilities are limitless; Alaska, the vast empire wherein men have found for their labor rich rewards of precious metals and hardly less precious furs; all these make up the Pacific Slope of which we read in the present volume of The History of North America. The importance of these sections is undeniable; the Slope as a whole demands the constant attention of the Union. Its vast resources, though richly rewarding those who are exploiting them, are but beginning to be appreciated by those not in close touch with them.

Strange as it may seem to those to whom the greatness of the Pacific Slope is known, the literature upon the section is scanty; particularly is this condition realized by those who desire to obtain an adequate presentation of the Slope in one volume. Indeed, they might search in vain for such a work, for until its production by Professor Schafer there was none. Now, however, the reader may in one correlated presentation follow the exploration, settlement, colonization and development of that vast stretch of land whose southern boundary is the Gulf of California and whose northern limit is the Arctic Ocean; whose eastern border is the Rocky Mountains and whose western curb is the Pacific Ocean.

The history of this land concerns itself with three widely differing sections populated by antagonistic peoples. For to California the Spanish first came; English-speaking people settled the Oregon country; subjects of the Muscovite came to the land north of "fifty-four-forty." The story of the beginnings of each of these sections is full of romance. Its interest puts that of modern novels to blush. Naught can take away from the glamour that tradition and history have thrown around those Spanish adventurers and devoted mission priests who first came to the "isle of delight," as the Spaniard called California. Neither can aught dim the light of romance that surrounds the stalwart trappers and explorers who first brought to the banks of the lordly Oregon the message of Eastern civilization. Nor can Norse saga rival the tales of the Russian fur traders and their despotic masters whose deeds in the early days of Alaskan colonization were as barbarous as they were brave.

It is because of the vast treasure of romance which has been spread before the student that the sober truth of several histories is the bedfellow of fable, and the attractive probabilities of appealing episodes have in great measure clouded the clear judgment which it has always seemed to us should be the first qualification of a historian. For this reason the general reader, besides being confronted by the lack of a history in convenient form, found in those sectional histories to which he had access such a large number of inaccuracies that his conception of the Slope and its peopling was, to say the least, incomplete. It was, then, to supply a positive need that the present volume was planned.

The plan was comprehensive. It included the various stages of the development of the vast region. It not only related the history of the sections, but it comprised a presentation of their relations, individually and collectively, with each other and with the Eastern States. This plan has been carried out in its every detail with a thoroughness that the editor expected from the competence of the author. The narrative is clear and interesting, and withal accurate.

Save with the single exception of the mystery surrounding the operations of Frémont in 1846–1847 there is little argumentative matter; there we have a necessity for a treatment of conflicting theories and the presentation of a conclusion. But the author, without argument, is able to present much new light upon moot points of Pacific Slope history. Among numerous examples may be mentioned, "the Whitman ride," the missionary influence in Oregon, the seizure of Monterey, the Mormons in the gold fields of California, the attitude of the English in the boundary disputes. We feel that in these matters the conclusions of Professor Schafer settle controversy.

Guy Carleton Lee.

Johns Hopkins University.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The story of the discovery and exploration of the far West, the exploitation of seacoast and interior by the fur traders, and the planting of new communities along the shores of the Pacific has a peculiar charm for the student of American history. The writer felt it long before the present work was undertaken, and when he was still residing in a distant portion of the country, away from the influences generated in a Pacific coast environment. Now the reason seems obvious enough. Americans have long been accustomed to look upon the Pacific as the goal of national expansion, and something of romantic glamour surrounds all participants in the successful movement to bring these vast regions to the knowledge of the world, to master the forces opposed to their occupation, and to make them a part of the United States. Besides, the contemplation of the obstacles overcome in the process brings into sharp relief certain traits of American manhood which are everywhere admired, namely, native intelligence, strength, courage, fortitude, and above all a pervading, hopeful idealism.

Recent events in the history of the nation emphasize the importance of our Pacific outlook; but these events themselves are, so far as the development of trade is concerned, steps in an evolutionary process that began more than a century ago, when first the Northwest Coast became an object of interest to the merchants of Boston and New York. The

vastness of our present commerce with the Orient, and the feeling of expectancy with regard to the future—the far East being now the region of ferment, of special developments and world transformations—are added reasons for the present widespread interest in Pacific coast history.

But while no spur of any description was needed as an inducement to take up the particular study of which this volume is one result, it was soon discovered that the student of Pacific slope history must labor under many and great disadvantages as contrasted with him who deals with the eastern and middle western sections of the United States. For there is no great library, with elaborate collections of source materials for Pacific coast history, such as Wisconsin has for the entire Mississippi valley or Harvard for the Atlantic slope. Besides the Bancroft collection (which is housed at San Francisco behind barred doors) there is no single library of even approximate completeness. Instead of such a resource one is dependent in this region upon many partial collections, of local or State consequence only, distributed all along the coast from Seattle to Los Angeles. The best of them, probably, are those of the State Library of California at Sacramento, and of the Oregon Historical Society at Portland and Eugene. The first contains a fairly complete list of the printed books relating to early California and a good collection of State newspapers which the library force is making a laudable effort to index. It contains little pamphlet or manuscript material, and like all other libraries of this coast (for all are comparatively new) it is sadly defective in the department of public documents. The State of California is to be commended for its intelligent efforts to render this collection fully available to scholars. The Oregon Historical Society has an unclassified collection of valuable books and pamphlets, a mass of extremely important original records, and a few files of Northwestern newspapers. The collection is the result of a recent movement for the garnering of the materials of Northwestern history. The society, as a part of its activity in this direction,

has published several valuable documents of large bulk, notably the Wyeth journals and letters, and also five volumes of the *Historical Quarterly*. Aside from the collections mentioned, there are less complete ones at all the State university libraries of the region, at Stanford, and at the more important city libraries, notably San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. The Southern California Historical Society has a collection at Los Angeles, where it also issues its publications, some of which contain important source materials. Hon. C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, has a valuable collection of Washington newspapers; and other private individuals are in possession of rare books and pamphlets which might prove very valuable if placed in public repositories.

I have made more or less use of most of the resources mentioned above; but their hopelessly scattered condition has militated strongly against the completeness and unity of the work. The more general phases of the study have been made possible only by a large use of outside libraries, notably that of the Wisconsin Historical Society, whose officers and employés have rendered valuable assistance in connection with my researches. I am also under special obligations to Mr. C. B. Bagley for the free use of his private collection, and to my colleague, Professor F. G. Young, for placing at my disposal a part of the books and manuscripts of the Oregon Historical Society of which he is the secretary.

The many helpful suggestions received from Guy Carleton Lee, the editor of the series, and the courtesies shown me by the publishers, ought here to be acknowledged.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

University of Oregon.

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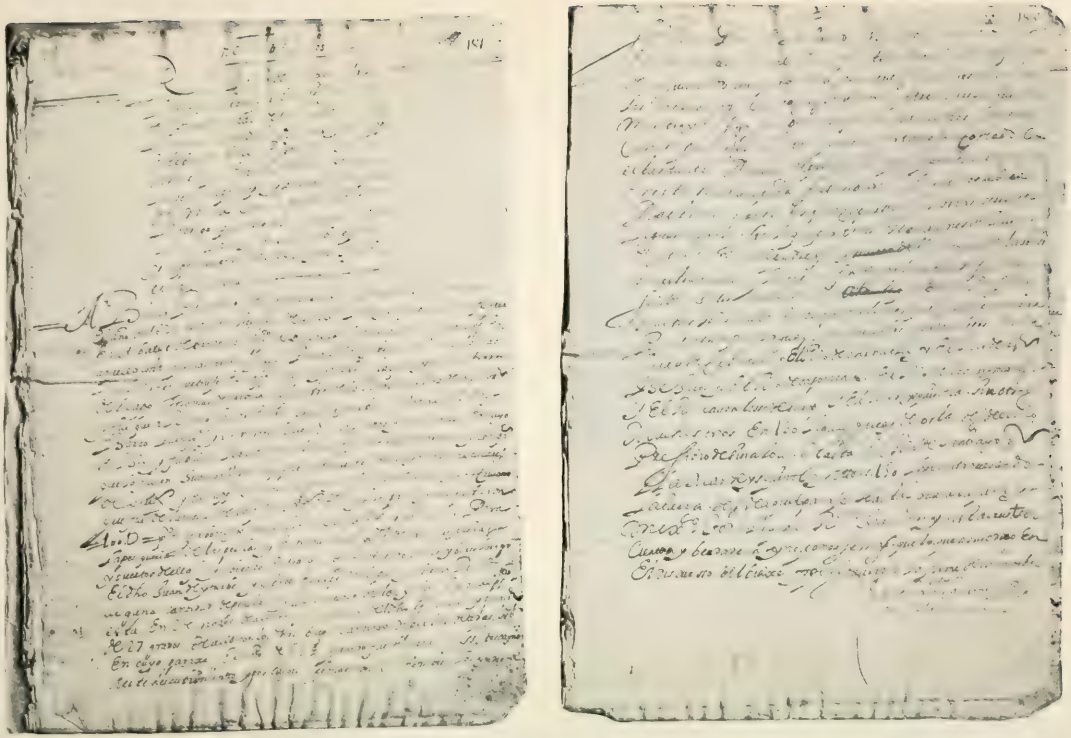
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THE

PACIFIC SLOPE AND ALASKA

SCHAFER





First and last pages of a manuscript account of voyages to California, written by Captain Esteban Carbonell de Calencuela. *From the original in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.*

CHAPTER I

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

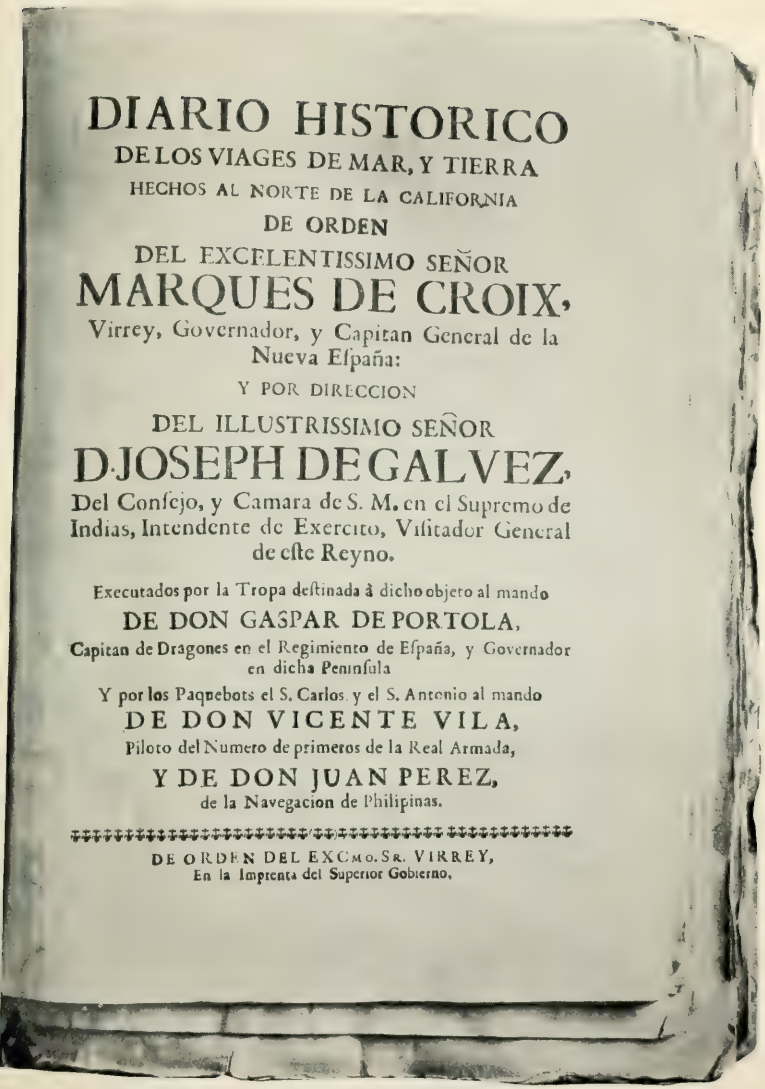
The closing years of the fifteenth century found the two leading maritime states of Europe, Spain and Portugal, engaged in a contest for the commerce of the Indies. The Portuguese, who had already explored a large part of the west coast of Africa, and were in possession of Papal decrees granting them a monopoly of the route around the southern end of Africa, persisted in their attempt to open a way to the south and east. Spain, acting on the advice of Columbus, became the pioneer of the western route to the Indies. Both nations finally succeeded in accumulating the wealth for which they longed, but the navigators of Portugal brought the first fruits of Oriental commerce to the Tagus, while the accidental discovery of the West Indies by Columbus gave the Spaniards a prior claim to the land which obstructed the way to India. With one portion of the explorations growing out of this discovery we shall deal in the present chapter.

It soon became clear that the lands found by Columbus were not part of Asia, but they were thought to lie in the vicinity of that continent, and Spain deemed it advisable to occupy them with her colonies and thus create new centres of exploring activity. As the work of discovery progressed, so many and such great territories were revealed that a sort of colonizing madness seized upon the Spanish people, and throngs of adventurers followed in the wake of the caravels that bore Columbus, and other great explorers, to the West

Indies, the Caribbean Islands, and the coasts of South America. The chief motive of these adventurers was, of course, to exploit the new lands and peoples, but the hope of finding a way to India was rarely absent from their thought. One of these voyages of discovery and exploitation, on account of the startling issues arising from it, demands more particular attention.

In 1501 Bastidas, a Spanish navigator, touched at several points on the coast of Darien, and eight years later Alonso de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa founded two colonies in districts separated from each other by Darien River. The colonies were not especially prosperous. Troubles with the natives, quarrels between the projectors of the rival establishments, and the lawless spirit so prevalent in these early ventures, brought many disasters. But in their train emerged a leader, Vasco Nuñez, more commonly known as Balboa. He was a gentleman by birth, an adventurer by inclination. In 1501 he sailed with Bastidas, and afterward led the life of a planter in Hispaniola. When a party fitted out there to plant a new colony in Darien, Balboa, who was then laboring under a great burden of debt, resolved to cast in his lot with the adventurers. Concealing himself in a provision cask, he was placed on shipboard without the knowledge of his creditors, and in due time was landed on the Isthmus.

Balboa led several expeditions into the interior in search of gold, of which there were considerable quantities in possession of the natives. On one of these excursions an Indian chief told him of the great sea to the southward, washing a land where vaster riches were to be obtained. Being deeply involved in the political disputes of the colony, and wishing to obtain favor for his party and himself with the King of Spain, Balboa resolved to discover this great sea and this new source of wealth. Accordingly he organized an expedition consisting of sixty-five Spaniards, secured an Indian guide, and after many hardships, on September 25, 1513, reached the top of a mountain from which



DIARIO HISTORICO

DE LOS VIAGES DE MAR, Y TIERRA

HECHOS AL NORTE DE LA CALIFORNIA

DE ORDEN

DEL EXCELENTISSIMO SEÑOR

MARQUES DE CROIX,

Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General de la Nueva Eſpaña:

Y POR DIRECCION

DEL ILLUSTRISSIMO SEÑOR

D. JOSEPH DE GALVEZ,

Del Conſejo, y Camara de S. M. en el Supremo de Indias, Intendente de Exercito, Viſitador General de eſte Reyno.

Executados por la Tropa deſtinada á dicho objeto al mando

DE DON GASPAR DE PORTOLA,

Capitan de Dragones en el Regimiento de Eſpaña, y Governador en dicha Peninſula

Y por los Paquebots el S. Carlos, y el S. Antonio al mando

DE DON VICENTE VILA,

Piloto del Numero de primeros de la Real Armada,

Y DE DON JUAN PEREZ,

de la Navegacion de Philipinas.

DE ORDEN DEL EXCmo. Sr. VIRREY,
En la Imprenta del Superior Gobierno.

Title-page of a work descriptive of voyages to and explorations in California.
From an original in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.



the waters of the great Pacific were in view. Balboa called it the "South Sea" (Mar del Sur), because the portion of it which met his gaze lay to the south of the Isthmus. Standing on the mountain peak, Balboa took possession of all the Pacific coasts in the name of his Spanish sovereign, a formality which he repeated when four days later he marched into the surf at the Gulf of San Miguel. Thus at the very moment of discovery the Spanish title was asserted over coasts extending, as we now know, from Cape Horn to Cape Prince of Wales, and which it would require one hundred and sixty-six years to explore. From this point of view the act of taking possession seems amusing. Yet the achievement of Balboa was epoch making. For almost a century, western Europeans had been searching for a water route to the Indies. Portugal had opened the long and tedious way round Africa, and held that route as a national monopoly. Spain, executing the bolder policy of Columbus, had thus far been balked of success by the unexpected presence of land masses across the ocean path. Columbus had looked for a passage through those lands, leading to the fabled cities of the East, but died without finding it, and others were equally unsuccessful. Now that the shores of the western sea had been found to be in such close proximity to the Atlantic, it was regarded as certain that a channel of connection existed, probably to the northward and so was provided a new stimulus to exploration, and both coasts were eagerly searched for the elusive "strait." It was in this search for the strait that the map of the Pacific coast of North America first began to emerge.

We must not suppose, however, that the geographical motive was the only incentive to Spanish exploration on the Pacific. Always the hope of immediate reward exerted a profound influence. It was largely in the expectation of finding gold that Balboa set forth on the expedition which resulted in the discovery of the Pacific. Before returning, he collected from the native chiefs a considerable amount of the precious metal, and also a number of valuable pearls.

Upon his return to the Darien settlement Balboa planned a new enterprise, which he expected would yield large returns to himself and his associates while extending the power of the Spanish crown over the coasts of the South Sea.

Balboa caused to be prepared on the northern side of the Isthmus the materials for several small vessels, and these he had carried by gangs of Indian slaves across the mountains. It is said that hundreds of natives perished in this undertaking, which, after all, proved nearly useless, for the timbers thus brought over were found to be wormeaten. Fortunately, timber was found on the south side of the Isthmus; several small ships were constructed, and with them Balboa began his exploration of the Pacific coast.

These events took place in 1517. Before the close of the same year Balboa's political enemies triumphed over him and put him to death. But the work he had begun was finished by others, of whom the first was one of the companions of his late voyage, the pilot Niño. He enlisted the interest of a powerful Spanish official, Gil Gonzalez, and in 1522–1523 sailed up the coast as far as the Gulf of Fonseca. Gonzalez, with a land party, left the vessels after proceeding a hundred leagues from Panama, explored the coast and discovered Lake Nicaragua. He noted its proximity to the Pacific, and was told that the lake was connected with the Atlantic. "If so," writes Gonzalez, "it is a great discovery, as the distance from one sea to the other" (South Sea to Nicaragua) "is but two or three leagues of very level land." He prepared a map which delineated the coast from Panama to the Gulf of Fonseca. The next year, 1524, Gonzalez sailed from San Domingo to explore the supposed strait leading from the Atlantic to Lake Nicaragua, but landing too far north, his company came into collision with a detachment sent down from Mexico, and his plans had to be given up. This incident heralds the change about to occur in the base of Pacific coast explorations. The part played by the Isthmus colonies of Darien and Panama is now about to end and a new centre, the

great Spanish province of Mexico, is to take the initiative in discovery and exploration.

The conquest of Mexico, 1519–1521, gave Spain, for the first time, a firm foothold on the continent of North America. As the consequence of the overthrow of the Aztec confederacy, Cortés laid at the feet of his king a territory of sufficient extent and richness to form the basis of a great State. But this, after all, was only the nucleus. North, south, and west of the valley of Mexico lay countries occupied by native tribes, whose reported wealth supplied all the stimulus that was needed to incite the Spanish to further conquests. Cortés sent out military expeditions in all directions, and it was not long before news was received of the great sea to the westward, rightly judged to be the same discovered by Balboa.

To Cortés, encouraged by the successes already gained, the western ocean offered an opportunity for brilliant achievements. Its coasts were believed to be rich in gold, and they were of unknown, but perhaps vast, extent, and might be found to trend directly toward the Spice Islands. In addition, the chance of finding the strait so much desired by the king furnished another strong motive for continued explorations. Therefore, seeking out a favorable situation on the Pacific, at the mouth of Zacatula River, Cortés established a sort of naval station, and in 1524 had several vessels ready for the undertaking. But accidents to some of his ships, and new military operations to the southward, caused delays; then the Spanish government required his fleet in a project to obtain control of the Molucca, or Spice Islands.

The trade of these small islands was a chief cause of the rivalry between Spain and Portugal. The latter reached them first, by the way of Good Hope, and was reaping a rich harvest. She did not, however, plant colonies or make any effort to control the archipelago except in the way of trade. Spain sent out Magellan in 1519, with the double hope that he would find a western route to these precious islands, and prove that by the Papal Bulls of 1493, dividing

the newly discovered world between the Spanish and the Portuguese, the islands belonged to Spain. All Magellan's ships, save one, were lost; and when this one reached Europe in safety after circumnavigating the globe, its officers professed to have proved the right of Spain to the coveted lands.

The Spanish government then asserted its right to the Moluccas under the Papal Bulls and the treaty of Demarcation entered into by the two contending powers in 1494. A conference called the Badajos Junta, composed of navigators, scientists, and lawyers of Portugal and Spain, was brought together in 1524 to discuss the ownership of the islands, but no agreement was reached. In 1527, Spain sent a fleet to open trade with the Moluccas, and three of Cortés's ships were drawn into the enterprise. Only one of the vessels reached the islands, and this, after taking a cargo of spices, sailed east in the hope of opening the sea route to Mexico. But the commander died when the voyage was but half completed, and the discouraged crew made the best of its way back to the Moluccas. About this time, 1529, Spain conditionally gave up her claim to the islands in return for the payment into her treasury of a large sum of money by Portugal.

But Spain did not, in spite of discouragement and misadventures to her fleets, desist from the attempt to find the passage through the American continent. Such a passage would enable her to develop the trade of other known portions of the Orient, and might lead to many rich discoveries. Moreover, through the greater convenience of this hoped-for route, Spain would be able to encroach on the possessions of Portugal, possibly to the extent of realizing the rights which she still considered hers in the Moluccas. Active explorations along both coasts remained, therefore, a cardinal point of the Spanish exploratory policy.

Until 1540, Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, was the devoted and energetic agent in carrying out this policy on the Pacific side of North America. The first fleet sent

north by him sailed in 1532, but all the ships of this expedition were lost somewhere on the Mexican coast. In the following year he dispatched two other vessels, one of which touched in 1534 at the California peninsula, then supposed to be an island. In 1535, Cortés tried to found a colony near the southern extremity of the peninsula, at a place which the Spanish called Santa Cruz; but this proved a complete failure, on account of the barrenness of the land, and the colonists that survived made their way back to Mexico in 1536.

It would seem that such a train of disasters would have damped the ardor of even so zealous an explorer as Cortés, but history credits him with yet another and more important enterprise, undertaken three years later. The circumstances under which this exploration was undertaken were extraordinary. Cortés had fallen under the displeasure of the home government and a viceroy, Mendoza, had been sent out from Spain to assume the civil government of Mexico. When the report of the existence of golden cities to the north reached Mexico in 1539, Mendoza at once prepared to send out Coronado's land expedition in that direction. Cortés, believing that this project was an encroachment upon the military powers put in his hands by the king, determined to protest against it by asserting his own right to undertake explorations. He accordingly ordered the Spanish navigator Ulloa to survey the northern coasts. That officer set sail, 1539, with three ships, but soon lost one of them. With the others he continued up the Mexican coast to the head of the Californian Gulf, then he turned southward and skirted the peninsula to its extremity. Again turning to the north, Ulloa passed up the outer coast of Lower California at least as far as Cedros Island, in latitude twenty-eight degrees. One of the two vessels returned in 1540, but all trace of Ulloa and the other ship was lost. In the meantime, Cortés returned to Spain, where he died in 1547. To supplement the land party of Coronado, which set out in 1540, Mendoza at the same time dispatched a fleet

northward under Alarçon. He reached the head of the Californian Gulf, where he left his ships, and then, in small boats, ascended Colorado River as far as the mouth of the Gila. These explorations of Ulloa and Alarçon proved that California was not an island but a peninsula. The name California, derived from a Spanish novel, the *Sergas* of Esplandian, was first given to the peninsula about this time. In its original application the word signified a fabulous island, lying not far "from the terrestrial paradise."

In 1542, Mendoza sent out another fleet of two vessels under Cabrillo. This navigator sailed up the outer coast of the peninsula, and on September 28th entered the harbor of San Diego, named by him San Miguel. This is the first known visit of white men to the coast of upper California, although it is possible that some portion of the territory had been seen by Alarçon's party two years earlier. From San Diego, Cabrillo passed northward, stopping at various points, noting the character of the landscape, marked by mountains, plains, and valleys, and studying the natives as carefully as their extreme timidity permitted. In this leisurely fashion, the coast was explored at least as far as the Bay of Monterey, and perhaps to latitude thirty-eight degrees. From there the ships were driven back to an island in latitude thirty-four degrees, where Cabrillo died.

His chief pilot, Ferelo, then took charge of the fleet and resolved to extend the explorations to a still higher latitude. On February 25th he was back at Monterey, and by the 1st of March, according to observations taken by him, was in latitude forty-four degrees. At this time, however, the ships were some distance out at sea, and we cannot determine from geographical data how nearly correct was this reckoning. We can only be reasonably certain that Ferelo had passed Cape Mendocino, which he called "Stormy Cape," in latitude forty degrees twenty minutes, and he may have sailed nearly as far north as the present Oregon boundary. Thus, in the thirty years following the discovery of the Pacific, the Spaniards had explored the coast

from the Isthmus of Panama to about forty-two degrees north latitude.

By this time Spain was easily the dominant power in Europe, a position which she maintained until well into the seventeenth century. Her resources, based upon vast territorial possessions, some of them enormously rich, greatly overshadowed those of any other State, and made her king, Charles V., the greatest sovereign of Christendom. Spaniards were exploring and exploiting the Atlantic coast of North America; the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico were heaping the royal treasury; trade was springing up along the paths the Spanish navigators traced. The waters of the Pacific west of the Americas constituted a veritable Spanish sea, whose entrance was so difficult as practically to shut out all save the possessors of Magellan's charts. Under these circumstances it is not strange that Spain tried to monopolize the New World, nor that England and France were slow to challenge her claims to America.

At this time Spain began to think of conquering the Philippines. Magellan had discovered these islands in 1521, but the government, much more interested in the Moluccas, on account of the profits from the spice trade, took no steps to enforce its claim to the Philippines until the Spice Islands had passed out of its hands. In 1542, a fleet of five vessels, under Villalobos, sailed from Mexico and took formal possession of the Philippines, but secured no actual foothold in the islands. In 1564, however, Legazpi conquered a portion of the territory and began the work of planting the institutions of Spain in the archipelago. A few years later the capital of the islands was fixed at Manila, and conditions became favorable for the development of the Philippine trade.

Prior to 1565 no ship had made the difficult voyage between the coasts of Asia and North America. But in that year Urdaneta, a famous navigator-priest, navigated three of Legazpi's ships safely back along the forty-second parallel of latitude and down the coast of California to Mexico. This was a great achievement, for it enabled the

Spaniards to participate freely in the Eastern trade, which, on account of the Portuguese monopoly of the Good Hope route, could only be secured by the creation of a route by way of the Pacific. With the successful voyage of Urdaneta the position of Mexico as a centre of Oriental commerce was fixed. Thereafter, galleons sailed regularly from Acapulco to Asia, borne westward by the trade winds and returned by the more difficult northern route to within sight of the American coast. Then turning southward, these "Manila ships" skirted the continent from about latitude forty, a distance of seven hundred leagues, to the home port.

The homeward voyage was a most arduous one. The winds were generally unfavorable; beaten about by storms, delayed by calms, the ships took double the time on the return trip that they employed in the passage to the Philippines, and usually reached Mexico in a more or less disabled state. It was evident that the occupation of a good port on the coast of Upper California would prove of great advantage to the Eastern trade. The "Manila ships," could there refit, take wood and water, and generally prepare for the remainder of the voyage. Besides, the fortification of a California port would be a safeguard against buccaneers such as the English Drake and Cavendish, who had lately vexed these seas; and, moreover, this occupation might facilitate the occupation of New Mexico, a project which was just beginning to be considered.

The King of Spain became interested in making a California port, and in 1593 issued an order to the Viceroy of Mexico to undertake the work. At first it was thought that this might be accomplished by one of the returning ships. But Cermaño, who essayed a landing at the command of the government, met with disaster. After this it was resolved to explore directly from Mexico with vessels especially equipped for the purpose.

The man who presented himself for this task was Sebastian Vizcaino, a seaman who had previously made an expedition to the pearl fisheries of the Gulf of California. He



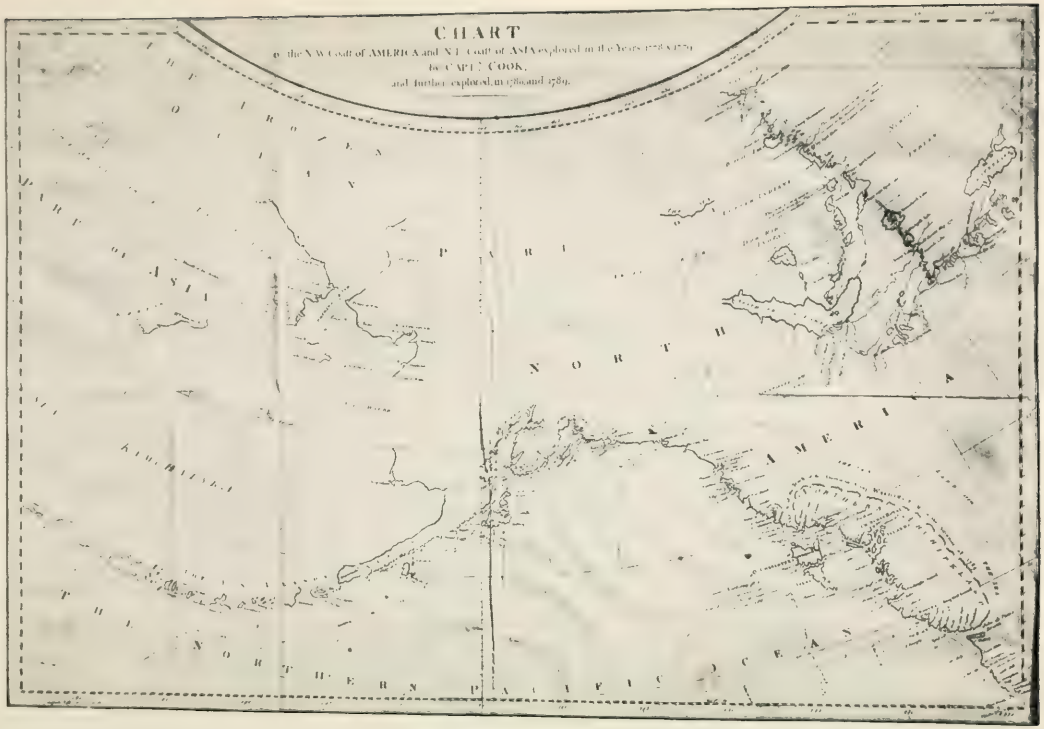


Chart of the northwest coast of America and northeast coast of Asia, explored in the years 1778 and 1779, by Captain Cook, and further explored in 1788 and 1789. *From the copperplate in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

was granted certain concessions in consideration for making a survey of the Pacific coast with a view to a settlement, but his first expedition, 1596–1597, was not a success. The work could not be dropped, however; and since Vizcaino had some claims upon the government on account of his previous effort, in which personal sacrifices were made, he was granted money and supplies, with full equipment for a new and more perfect exploration.

Vizcaino left Acapulco in May, 1602, with instructions to explore the coast to latitude forty-two degrees north. Proceeding slowly northward, by the middle of December the ships reached the excellent harbor just above thirty-seven degrees which Cabrillo had named the Port of Pines. This Vizcaino called Monterey, in honor of him who was then Viceroy of Mexico. In January, 1603, he left this harbor and sailed to forty-two degrees, the limit set by his instructions. But Aguilar, commander of one of the vessels of the fleet, ran before a strong wind as high up as Cape Blanco, on the Oregon coast, and professed to have found, in latitude forty-three degrees, the mouth of a large river, which for a time was supposed to be the western entrance to the strait joining the two great oceans. A century and a half later, when rumors of a westward flowing stream heading near the Missouri were received on Mississippi waters, it was inferred that this was the river of Aguilar.

Vizcaino's survey was of a different character from all earlier examinations of the California coast. "I explored very diligently," he writes to the king, "the whole coast, not leaving harbor, bay, island, or bight without sounding and delineating it in accordance with the rules of good cosmography, and the art of demarcation." From his time, maps of California have a distinctly modern appearance, save that Aguilar's river often was assumed to connect with the head of the Gulf of California, thus making a single great island of the two Californias.

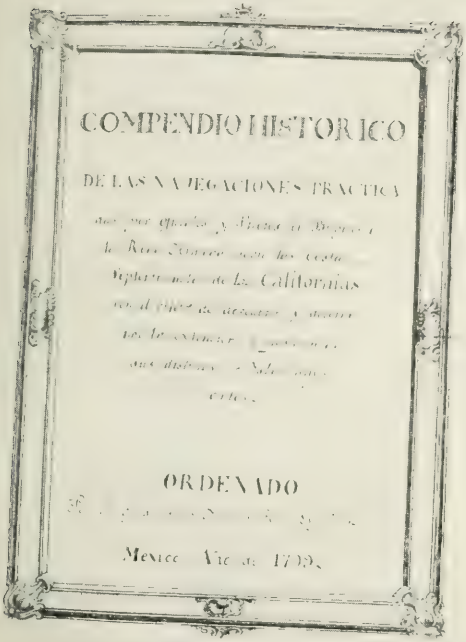
Vizcaino found at Monterey all the requisites of a good harbor for the ships from Manila. There was abundance

of timber, good water, a productive soil, and plenty of wild game. The Indians of the region seemed docile, and he thought they might be readily Christianized. He therefore urged the planting of a military colony at that place, and one at San Diego. But Vizcaino died in 1608; and notwithstanding the manifest wisdom of his recommendations, they remained unexecuted for more than a century and a half, until the days of Gálvez, Juan Perez, and Father Junipero Serra.

At this point it becomes necessary to notice a non-Spanish voyage of the sixteenth century, which had a marked influence on the events just narrated. This was the plundering expedition of the English navigator, Sir Francis Drake. He was one of that noteworthy group of sailors who, during the first half of Elizabeth's reign, did so much to expose the hollowness of Spain's pretensions to maritime supremacy, and thereby made possible her overthrow a little later.

When Drake set sail for the Pacific, December 13, 1577, there was peace between England and Spain. But causes of ill feeling were not wanting, and there is reason to believe that the commander had Queen Elizabeth's consent to carry on private war upon the Spaniards in the New World. Drake left Plymouth with five vessels, but on emerging from the Strait of Magellan in September, 1578, a furious storm separated the ships and drove them southward. Drake, however, held to the northward in the *Golden Hind*, the flagship of the squadron.

The story of Drake's exploits need not be repeated in detail, but they consisted in the capture of a number of Spanish galleons, laden in part with the precious metals, and in the seizure of much gold and silver on shore. Drake and his men showed all the bravery and daring for which the English corsairs of the time are noted, and for which their lawlessness is often condoned. They sailed boldly into Spanish harbors crowded with ships of all kinds and presumably protected by shore batteries. Occasionally, under these circumstances, they destroyed shipping, took the


COMPENDIO HISTORICO

DE LAS NAVEGACIONES PRACTICA

ORDENADO

Mexico Año de 1799.

Title-page of a work relating to California, published at Mexico in 1799.
From an original in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.



most eligible cargo as a prize, and got safely away before the Spaniards could recover from their surprise.

One of the professed objects of Drake's expedition, however, was the discovery of a strait leading to the Atlantic. Accordingly, after seizing a rich store of booty on the coasts of South and Central America, he made sail northward, running as far as forty-two degrees. At this latitude, we are informed, the cold was so distressing, although the time was summer, that the men could attend to their work on deck with the utmost difficulty. This statement has often been taken to prove that the latitude reached must have been much higher than here indicated; but a careful reading of the original account will show that conclusion to be unfounded. Besides, it is inherently improbable on account of the time occupied. However, Drake sailed somewhat farther north before the ship was put about, and then, on the 17th of June, 1579, he ran into a very good harbor in latitude thirty-eight degrees thirty minutes north. This harbor is supposed to be Drake's Bay, north of San Francisco Bay. There he repaired his vessel, made some explorations into the interior, which gave him great influence over the natives, and took possession of the country in the name of the English queen. He called the region *Albion*, and professed to believe that the Spaniards had never "had any dealing, or so much as set foot in this country, the utmost of their discoveries reaching only to many degrees southward of this place." Drake then decided that the discovery of the strait, if it existed, was impracticable on account of the cold, for the sailors appeared to suffer a good deal; and wishing to avoid the risks of the southern route, where the Spaniards would doubtless be prepared to cut him off, he steered his vessel boldly westward across the great ocean and arrived at Plymouth on September 26, 1580, "in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home."

The voyage of Drake was immediately productive of results besides giving the British government something to

build on two centuries later in developing its claim to the northwest coast. Its first effect was in the nature of a shock to the Spaniards, who had heretofore believed themselves sole masters of the difficult passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. From the time of Drake it was impossible for Spain to carry out her policy of exclusion. Encouraged by the success of the English navigator who had made the passage of the Strait of Magellan without a chart, freebooters had little hesitation in braving the terrors of that passage.

Moreover, this achievement by Drake was indicative of the fact that England, hitherto overawed by the power of Spain, was accumulating evidences of her own comparative strength. Indeed, a few years after his return from the circumnavigation of the globe, Drake took part in the brilliant sea fight, 1588, in which Spain's great armada was shattered by the English fleet and her ancient naval supremacy destroyed.

But England was not the only enemy Spain had to fear at the close of the sixteenth century. Holland had practically gained her independence by this time and immediately became one of the world's great sea powers. France, too, so long devastated by civil war, was entering upon an era of wonderful national prosperity destined to carry her, by regular and rapid strides, to the recognized headship of the European states. England, France, and Holland are the three powers whose active participation in American affairs begins about this time. In a very few years these nations gained so firm a foothold on the Atlantic coast of North America as to make it plain that the Spanish power on that side of the continent was in danger of speedy overthrow.

On the Pacific, Spain was less exposed, and her displacement would consequently be retarded, but even there the era of absolute security was at an end. In 1616, two Dutch navigators, Le Maire and Schouten, who had been sent out for that purpose, discovered a route into the Pacific by way of the passage around the southernmost promontory

of Tierra del Fuego, which they called "Cape Horn." This discovery made it much less difficult to reach the great ocean from Europe, and thenceforth navigators from the Netherlands, pirates as well as merchants, were frequent visitors to the coasts of western America. The Gulf of California, from its favorable position and wealth of pearls, became a favorite resort of the Dutch buccaneers, who received the name of Pilchilingues, from the bay of Pilchilingue where their ships were wont to rendezvous. In consequence of Dutch incursions, the settlement of the California peninsula, attempted by Cortés a century earlier, became a matter of great concern to the Spaniards, as it was thought that a line of colonies and forts would serve as a protection to the coast of the gulf, and a number of efforts, covering half a century and more, were made to establish them. But the sterility of the soil proved too serious an obstacle to be overcome by ordinary Mexican colonists. At last the work was taken up by the Jesuits, who in 1597 planted a mission of their order at Loreto. This was the first permanent settlement in Lower California and became the mother of other missions until, in the space of half a century, the entire peninsula was brought under the control of the Jesuits and sixteen of their establishments stretched in a line along the Gulf.

The importance of this occupation of the peninsula is difficult to overestimate. In the first place, the Jesuits became the scientific explorers of the surrounding region, and gave the first accurate descriptions of the coast. Secondly, the incidental knowledge which they gained concerning the country to the north was of great value to later explorers in that direction. Thirdly, and most important, the creation of centres of civilized life through the long line of the peninsula was the necessary condition of the conquest of Upper California by the priests and soldiers of Spain. When that event took place, 1769–1776, it was accomplished by using the missions of the peninsula as the bases of operations. Indeed, the conquest was in

the nature of an expansion of the work done by the Jesuits farther south, following in part the same lines, and having similar results. Again, since the occupation of the California coast north to Monterey facilitated in its turn the explorations beyond that point, we may regard the planting of the peninsula missions as a prime cause of that great northward projection of the Spanish influence which distinguishes the period immediately preceding 1776.

Early in the seventeenth century, Vizcaino had made his careful survey of the California coast to latitude forty-two degrees north, and recommended its occupation at two of the best small harbors, Monterey and San Diego. The plan was admirable from every consideration of public policy. But the burdens of Spain were very great, owing to wars in Europe, and the drain on the resources of Mexico was constantly increasing, not only for supplying funds for operations at home, but also for necessary defensive preparations within that province itself. Aside from this the public service in Mexico was gradually losing whatever of energy and efficiency it had once had; so that, although there were plenty of memorials and recommendations on the subject of colonization, no one came forth to execute the far reaching policy of northern expansion. Thus matters stood until well into the second half of the eighteenth century, when a combination of causes brought about an era of extraordinary activity along the lines indicated.

The first of these circumstances was the new position of influence assumed at this time by Great Britain. England's interests in America had been steadily increasing since the planting of her colonies in the seventeenth century. Holland as a rival power was eliminated in 1664, Spain was successfully checked on the south, and finally, in 1763, France was virtually driven from the continent, and the entire east coast, including the Spanish Floridas, became a possession of the British crown. On the west the boundary between Great Britain and Spain was Mississippi

River, to the latitude of its source. But in the vast unexplored northern and western regions the opportunity remained to Great Britain of gaining title by discovery and occupation.

Great Britain's industrial and commercial expansion, and especially the development of her East Indian possessions, emphasized the need of a convenient route from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For this reason the question of the possible existence of a northwest passage was becoming more and more interesting to her. Expeditions had already been sent out to search for it, and Spain saw clearly that Great Britain was preparing to dispute her sway over the western coast, as she had already successfully done on the eastern seaboard of North America.

A second and more immediate danger, as it seemed, was threatening Spanish dominion from the north. Early in the eighteenth century Russian traders extended their operations over the country of Siberia, and some settlements of these hardy fur hunters already existed on the east coast of Asia in the peninsula of Kamtchatka. Commercial intercourse between Russia and China had been inaugurated, although as yet it was carried on by caravans overland rather than by sea; but up to 1828 nothing of consequence was known about the Asiatic coast north of Kamtchatka, although in the reign of Peter the Great, 1682–1725, plans were matured for exploring the lands lying east of the known parts of Siberia. In 1728 the first of these expeditions set out from Kamtchatka, under the command of a Danish navigator, Vitus Bering. He sailed north to sixty-seven degrees eighteen minutes, where he found the coast turning abruptly westward. This seemed to prove that Asia and America were not united, as had so long been supposed, and this conjecture became a certainty. Bering had sailed through the strait which now bears his name, but without seeing the opposite coast of Alaska. Four years later, Krupischef was driven across the strait to the east, and touched the American coast. In 1741 Bering

was sent out on another expedition. This time he saw the Alaskan coast in about latitude sixty degrees, where he sighted Mount St. Elias. The name was applied by him to a cape in the vicinity. When Cook visited this region, having noted it on the Russian chart, he supposed the name had been given to the mountain, and adopted it. These achievements were not fully known in Europe until a number of years afterward, but it was understood that they were important, and by 1766 many rumors were afloat that Russia intended to follow up her discoveries in a vigorous and systematic manner for purposes of colonization and trade.

A third fact bearing on the renewal of exploration by Spain was the interest aroused in matters relating to California by the expulsion of the Jesuits from America and the turning over of their numerous establishments to the Franciscans. This quasi-revolution popularized all that was known about Lower and Upper California; travel back and forth from Mexico to the peninsula missions was stimulated; their situation, needs, and possibilities were investigated by the officials of government, and in this way the serviceableness of the mission posts as a basis of northern operations was made manifest.

But all these causes together would have been insufficient to guarantee success in the establishment of colonies in Upper California had it not been for the character of the men who shaped the colonial policies of Spain at this time. The most important of these was José de Galvez, a man of statesmanlike views, extraordinary energy, ability, and resourcefulness. Through the instrumentality of Galvez and others, a plan was devised about 1765 which involved primarily the reorganization of Mexican finances, but contemplated also the adoption of measures to protect and extend the rights of the Spanish government on the Pacific coast. Galvez was commissioned to go to Mexico as *visitador*, or inspector, and he quickly injected new life into the decadent government of the province. In 1767 came the expulsion

of the Jesuits, which gave him the opportunity to visit and inspect the missions of Lower California. The next year an order was received from the king for the military occupation of San Diego and Monterey.

This was the keynote of the proposed northern operations, and we see at once how completely the plan harmonized with the recommendations of Vizcaino. For the defence of the coast against foreigners, and for the succor of the Manila galleons, it was at last determined to carry out the project proposed by him. At no time during the preceding century and a half had it been possible of execution, even within its original limits; now, under favorable auspices, and the stimulus of urgent necessity, it was destined to undergo great development.

The occupation of the seaports was to be a means of extending the religious influence of Spain over the surrounding populations. Galvez proposed to enlist in this enterprise the friars of the Franciscan order, who were already in control of the peninsula, and were naturally anxious to gain a foothold among the numerous native tribes of Upper California. This was in harmony with the time-honored policy of the Spanish government, which always made religion a motive in its conquests, and usually found the church a most effective adjunct of the army in exercising control over barbarians. Father Junipero Serra, who presided over the peninsula missions, was therefore an important adviser of Galvez in the military and spiritual conquest of California. The government was to furnish ships, soldiers, and money; the missions of the peninsula were to provide grain and other supplies for the expeditions, equipments for new churches, and cattle to stock the missions which should arise as centres of a new civilization in the midst of the wilderness.

Early in 1769, preparations for the maritime expeditions were completed, the first vessel, the *San Carlos*, sailing from La Paz on January 9th, the *San Antonio* setting forth in February. The latter was more fortunate than her consort,

and on April 11th her detachment of the California pioneers arrived at the harbor of San Diego. The *San Carlos*, barely escaping destruction, entered the bay on April 29th.

These two expeditions were contemporaneous with two others, which made the dreary overland march from the northern missions of the peninsula. They set out in the spring of 1769, each encumbered with a herd of cattle, and reached San Diego, the first on May 14th, and the second on July 1st. Two hundred and nineteen persons had joined the four parties; but when all were encamped on the sands of San Diego, the number which remained was only one hundred and twenty-six. This little company expected to conquer the stupendous wilderness of California, and they deserve to be honored as the founders of the first colony on the Pacific coast of the United States.

The mission of San Diego was formally established July 16, 1769. No time was lost in the effort to reach and occupy Monterey, but the party which marched overland for that purpose was so unfortunate as to pass the spot sought without recognizing it. After reaching the Bay of San Francisco the colonists turned back, but missing Monterey again kept on to San Diego. New expeditions had to be sent out, and it was not until June 3, 1770, that San Carlos, the mission capital of California, was established on the shores of the harbor of Monterey. Forts, or presidios, were also erected in connection with the missions, and so the old idea of the fortification of these two ports was realized.

But the zeal of the government agents and the Franciscans could not be satisfied with less than the conquest of the entire country. Two other missions quickly arose to open the long stretch of wilderness between the northern and southern outposts. Others were founded from time to time, that of San Francisco, the sixth in number, dating from October, 1776.

One portion of the grand project which the sending of Galvez was intended to promote was now realized, but

another equally important remained to be achieved. This was the exploration of the coast north of California, in order to limit the operations of the Russians and forestall the dreaded projects of Great Britain.

In 1774, Juan Perez, who had been in charge of the Spanish maritime expeditions to California, was commissioned to make this northern exploration. His instructions were, after discharging the supplies carried to the missions, to sail up the coast as high as latitude sixty degrees, noting the eligible points for settlement, and taking possession wherever possible in the name of the Spanish Crown. Perez sailed in the *Santiago* from Monterey June 11, 1774, and putting out to sea ran north to a point somewhat above fifty-four degrees, where he came within sight of the shore. This was the first authentic discovery of any part of the coast north of forty-two degrees and south of Alaska. Not daring to proceed, on account of the condition of his crew and vessel, Perez now turned southward, and in latitude forty-nine degrees thirty minutes, anchored in a bay which he named San Lorenzo. It is almost certain that this was one of the harbors in Nootka Sound. From this point he kept in sight of the land most of the way to the California line, thus effecting the first real discovery of the Oregon coast.

The *Santiago* was again sent out in 1775, this time under Bruno Heceta, with Perez as second in command. She was accompanied by the schooner *Sonora* in charge of Cuadra. The orders were to reach the latitude of sixty-five degrees. On the 14th of July, being anchored off Point Grenville, in latitude forty-seven degrees twenty minutes, the Spaniards landed and took formal possession of the country. Thus did "Europeans set foot for the first time on the soil of the Northwest Coast."

Soon after this, encountering severe and adverse winds, the two vessels were separated, and Heceta, already discouraged at the prospect before him, turned southward. On August 17th, being in latitude forty-six degrees nine

minutes, "he discovered a bay with strong eddies and currents, indicating the mouth of a great river or strait."

Cuadra, who, after the separation from Heceta had persisted in the northern exploration, sailed far to the west, and then running north under favorable winds, first sighted the coast above latitude fifty-seven degrees, opposite a towering mountain which he named San Jacinto, but which Cook later called Mt. Edgecumbe. Cuadra anchored near this point, and landing took possession for his king. Subsequently he examined the coast carefully from about latitude sixty degrees to fifty-five degrees fourteen minutes, where the ceremony of taking possession was performed once more. But Cuadra found it impossible to reach the latitude of sixty-five degrees. Before the next Spanish expedition was dispatched to these seas the northwest coast was visited by the Englishman, Captain James Cook, whose coming inaugurates a new era in the history of the Pacific Slope.

CHAPTER II

THE RIVER OF THE WEST

It is suggestive to compare a present day map of the United States with one representing the same geographical area, and showing the relation between social and territorial facts as they existed in 1776. On the Atlantic side were a succession of English communities, stretching as far south as the lower boundary of Georgia, and reaching back to, and even beyond, the Alleghany Mountains; in the South were scattered Spanish colonies, from Florida to Mexico; and where now our nation fronts the Orient, looking across the vast Pacific, were to be found a few feeble settlements, also of Spaniards, having their northern outposts on the Bay of San Francisco.

The great continental spaces lying between the Eastern Highland and the western coast, were, with few and seemingly unimportant exceptions, occupied solely by tribes of native red men. Here and there, in the Great Lakes region, and on Mississippi waters, were barely perceptible openings in the forest, where a remnant of the old French population droned away the lazy years, surrounded by a crowd of half-breed Indians.

Bold prophet would he have been who at that time had foretold a future connection between the English colonies, fighting for independence along the Atlantic, and the scattered communities on the shores of the opposite sea. And yet, in reality, there would have been nothing absurd

in such a prediction. History was crowded with examples of the expansion of a strong people, in the face of great obstacles, over widely extended territories; nor was it necessary to go back to the records of a conquering Alexander or a Cæsar to find them. The American colonies themselves had already achieved results in that line which were quite as remarkable as any that classic annals might bring to mind. From a few weak settlements, dependent for their very existence upon the regular transmission of supplies from England, and widely severed from one another, they had grown, in somewhat more than a century, to a body of nearly three million freemen, bound together not alone by revolutionary interest, but by the strong ties of institutional and territorial community. From tidewater colonies they had already come into possession of the first grand division of the continent, and were even pushing their outposts over the restraining wall of the Alleghanies. And the colonists had recognized, although vaguely, their potential dominance of North America, when they had dubbed the recently organized congress "Continental."

It is true that in 1776 the colonists were endeavoring to establish their right to a national organization, and as yet both the military and political outcome were in doubt; but to one who had faith in the American cause, and could compass in vision the growth of a true political union, with an efficient central government, the future must have presented glowing possibilities in the way of national growth. At a much earlier time, at least one European writer, Argenson, had predicted for the American colonies both independence, a unified republican government, and astounding prosperity. The leading statesman of France, Vergennes, in 1778 initiated a policy of restricting the young Republic forever by the line of the Alleghanies, fearing that should the American people gain a footing on the Mississippi, their career might prove disastrous to the pretensions and hopes of European powers in North America. The traveller, Jonathan Carver, at that very time, was declaring that

"when the advantages that will certainly arise to settlers [on the Lower Mississippi] are known, multitudes of adventurers, allured by the prospect of such abundant riches, will flock to it, and establish themselves, though at the expense of rivers of blood." When, a few years later, the mother country was prepared to make peace, France intrigued to incorporate in the treaty the principle of the Alleghany limits. But the American commissioners insisted on the Mississippi as the western boundary, thereby showing the faith that was in them, and acquiring at one stroke for their country an imperial domain, over which it was already the American ambition to expand.

But this was not the end. Americans on the Mississippi found themselves opposed by the Spanish, who not only held, under the name of Louisiana, the western portion of the great valley, and also Texas, New Mexico, and California, but claimed the entire northwest coast. With the impetus which expansion to the river would surely impart, it was impossible, as foreign councillors argued, to set bounds to the progress of the new nation; and the fear expressed that all Spanish America might in time be swallowed up by it seems now the inspiration of prophecy. Time would bring at least a partial fulfilment; indeed, the process was already begun by which the influence of Spain east of the Mississippi was to be gradually overcome, and a basis laid for an extension of the American jurisdiction to our first contemplated western boundary.

Along the frontiers of the American States dwelt many thousands of men whose training and aptitudes marked them off from the great body of the people as fitted for special conditions and activities. In part they were of colonial stock, from families which had lived for generations, by choice or accident, in the primitive surroundings of the "back settlements"; in part, men from the tidewater sections, impelled hither by the opportunity for trade in the Indian country just beyond, speculation in land, or the prevailing spirit of adventure. But, by 1776, a large proportion

of them were recent arrivals from Scotland and Ireland, men whose traditions were all of the border, as it existed in those countries, and who, on reaching the New World, gravitated toward the frontier as naturally and truly as the needle swings toward the pole. These, both Americans and Scotch-Irish, formed the best instrument of an expanding state, and became the natural leaders of the continental advance. Sturdy, self-reliant, inured to every physical hardship, wary and resourceful in the presence of danger, which was never entirely absent from their environment, these "pioneers of the Alleghanies" were already pressing forward. Their little homesteads extended about the eastern foothills, and their "cow-pens" were found far up the watercourses, where pleasant meadows attracted the stockmen of this early time. During more than a quarter-century prior to the Revolution they had hunted through the forested slopes of the Highlands, and trapped the streams to their sources near the summits of the mountains; then, following the Indian trail, often worn by the iron hoof of the packhorse, bearing alternate loads of trinkets and furs, they spied out passes leading to the western waters. The trader, the hunter, and the trapper were already familiar sights to the red men in these regions, when, just as the first mutterings of war began to be heard on the seacoast, parties of frontier farmers, bringing wagons, families, and cattle through the water gaps, along newly cut trails, were preparing to settle on the prairies of Kentucky and in the valleys of East Tennessee.

It was these new settlements, pushed out like scouting parties beyond the advancing columns, which in 1776 gave the surest promise of American expansion to the Pacific. In a few years, they were destined to overspread central Kentucky and gain the most favorable points on the Cumberland; under George Rogers Clark they would conquer most of the Old Northwest; floating down the Tennessee and crossing conveniently to the rivers trending gulfward, the frontiersmen would press upon the Spaniards at New

Orleans and Mobile. Assuming that "manifest destiny" must place the river under American control, the political prophet of 1776 might well have foreseen a steady onward march, along the line of the Spanish colonies in the Southwest, which in the dim future might extend even to California.

An alternative route, as we now know, would have been the northern one, by way of the Missouri and a possible westward flowing river rising in the vicinity of its source. This was about to be brought to public notice by Jonathan Carver, and may already have been in the minds of a few men interested in the geography of the interior. But no one at this time dreamed of the possibility that here was Nature's invitation to the American people to extend their political influence to the Pacific. Carver made his tour into the West, as far as St. Peter's River in what is now Minnesota, in the years 1766–1768. His book, however, was not published till 1778. Meantime, he lived in London, and claims to have communicated his discoveries to the Lords of Trade and to others high in official position.

During these years the British government was peculiarly interested in finding a northwest passage into the Pacific. Early in the seventeenth century, Hudson had lost his life in the great bay which bears his name, and Baffin had discovered a more westerly projection of the Atlantic still farther to the north. Both failed to find the coveted passage, as did other searchers of the same period, and for about a century the government desisted from the effort. However, in 1669, Charles II granted a charter to a company of court favorites, chief of whom was his cousin, Prince Rupert, permitting them to trade in the region adjacent to Hudson Bay, but requiring that they make search for "a passage into the South Sea." Whether or not this clause was simply a survival from the forms used in the earlier American charters we do not know. At all events the company proceeded as if it were a dead letter, devoting its energies wholly to trade, and leaving the exploring obligation unfulfilled. Finally,

with the new interest in the Northwest Passage following the Seven Years' War, such an outcry was raised against the company for delinquency, that it concluded to make the explorations called for by the charter. In 1769–1773 Samuel Hearne, as agent for the company, traversed a thousand miles of wilderness to the westward from Hudson Bay, and discovered Coppermine River, which he descended to its mouth in what he erroneously supposed to be north latitude seventy-two degrees. This seemed to show that the passage, if existent, must lie far to the north of Hudson Bay, and also suggested the possibility of finding it by sailing eastward from Bering's Strait, through the sea observed by Hearne, the extent of which, both east and west, was unknown.

At this point, if we can credit Carver, an expedition was planned, to be headed by Richard Whitworth, a member of Parliament, who proposed to carry a party of not less than sixty men (including artificers, sailors, etc., with all needed supplies and materials), across the continent of North America. They were to build a fort at Lake Pepin, on the Mississippi, thence proceed by St. Peter's River and a branch of the Missouri to the headwaters of the "Oregon," and down that river "to the place where it is said to empty itself near the Straights of Anian." There, or in that vicinity, a settlement was to be made from which maritime expeditions, created on the spot, would begin the search for the passage eastward into the Atlantic. He declares that the plan was well matured when the American war suddenly intervened to prevent its execution.

Whatever truth there may be in these assertions of Carver, it is almost certain that he knew nothing definite about the "Great River of the West," whose course he pretends to trace for us. On his map that stream is shown to enter the Pacific just below the parallel of forty-five degrees, and its discovery is credited to Aguilar. This shows that Carver followed, directly or indirectly, some of the earlier Spanish reports in asserting the existence of a great river on the Oregon coast at a time when no such

river had, in fact, been seen. The statements concerning its source may possibly be based on stories freely retailed to travellers by the Indians, or they may be purely conjectural or fanciful. The same can be said of the name *Oregon*, for which the world is indebted to Carver's travels. More than a decade was still to elapse before the existence of the River of the West was to be definitely known, and thirty years before its relation to the Missouri was to be finally determined. Let us now see how these fundamental problems of Pacific coast history were solved.

In the year 1776 the British government, stimulated doubtless by certain features of Hearne's discoveries, resolved to send out two exploring expeditions by sea to seek the Northwest Passage. One was to operate westward from Baffin's Bay, while the other was to proceed to the Pacific and passing through Bering's Strait try to sail eastward by way of the Arctic Ocean and thence into the Atlantic. The second route was assigned to Captain James Cook, with two ships, the *Discovery* and the *Resolution*. His instructions were issued on the 6th of July, two days after the American colonies on the Atlantic declared their independence.

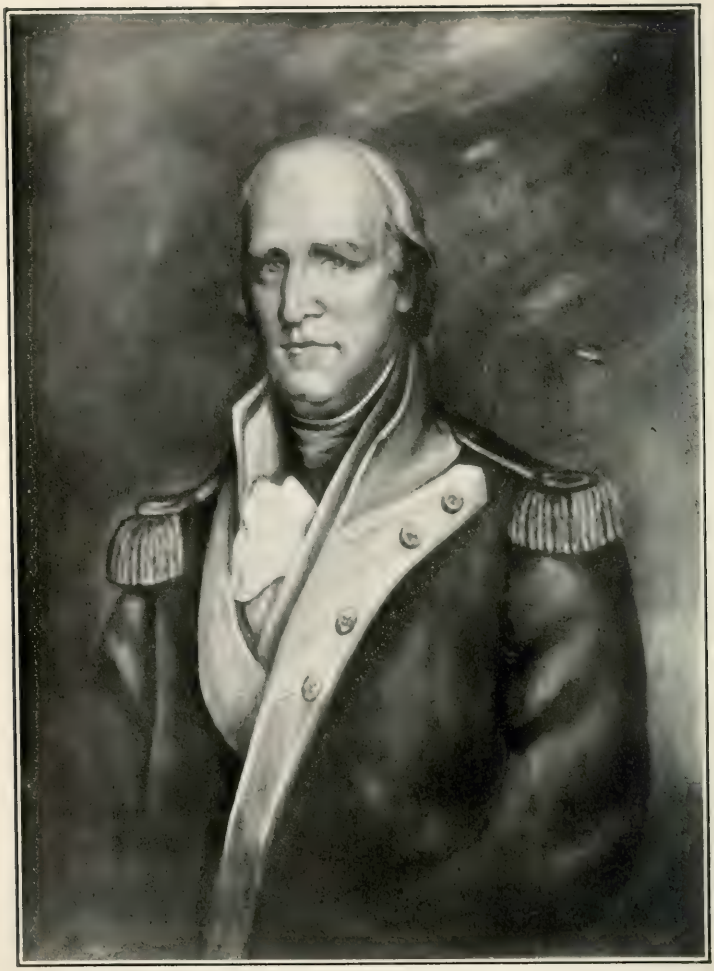
Cook sailed from Plymouth, England, July 12th, and spent about a year and a half in the South Pacific. Early in 1778 he discovered one of the Sandwich Islands, which he named in honor of the Earl of Sandwich, a chief promoter of the expedition. Cook had been instructed to make his landfall on the coast of *New Albion*, in about forty-five degrees north latitude, and to avoid touching upon any part of the Spanish territories on the west coast of America. In March, 1778, he sighted the mountains of Oregon, in latitude forty-four degrees. Sailing farther northward he made a careful examination of that part of the coast lying between forty-seven and forty-eight degrees, looking for a strait said by Purchas in 1625 to have been discovered by Juan de Fuca. He convinced himself that the existence of a strait in that latitude was not possible, and then sailed on until immediately above forty-nine degrees he entered

a harbor in Nootka Sound, where he received on board many Indians who exchanged skins and furs for the baubles they coveted. From that harbor he stood to the northwest and saw the "San Jacinto" of Cuadra, which Cook called Mount Edgecumbe. In latitude sixty degrees he sighted Mount St. Elias, crossing at that latitude the southward explorations of the Russians. At last, on the 9th of August, after passing through the strait separating Asia from our continent, Cook reached "the northwest extremity of all America," in latitude sixty-five degrees forty-eight minutes, calling it Cape Prince of Wales. Steering thence almost due west he sighted the northeasternmost point of Asia and named it East Cape.

The explorer then turned southward, because of the lateness of the season, heading for the Hawaiian Islands, and with the discovery of these two capes the career of Captain Cook on the North Pacific coast closed. The problem of reaching the Arctic Ocean from Bering's Strait was left unsolved, for before the next summer opened the great navigator had met his death at the hands of the savages of Hawaii. Cook was not the first to visit these coasts, the Spaniards, as we have seen, having previously operated northward to about latitude sixty degrees, and the Russians having sighted various places between the northern point reached by the Spanish navigators and Cape Prince of Wales; yet the results of their explorations were known only from rumor, or at best from imperfect and partly imaginary charts. To Captain Cook, therefore, belongs the honor of making a careful and fairly accurate independent survey of the entire northwest coast, between latitudes forty-eight degrees and sixty-five degrees forty-eight minutes.

In 1779, the companions of Cook, attempting to finish the work the captain had begun, again tried to enter the Arctic sea. The attempt was unsuccessful and the ships were turned homeward. The sailors had incidentally collected at Nootka and elsewhere a number of furs, and they decided to return to England by way of Canton, China, and





George Rogers Clark.

From the painting in possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

seek there a market for the pelts. These were sold at such extraordinary prices as to attract the attention of the whole commercial world. "Skins which did not cost the purchaser six pence sterling, sold . . . for one hundred dollars." Henceforth the region where such valuable commodities were to be obtained had an attraction of its own, for commercial reasons, aside from any geographical secrets its rugged headlands might conceal. In a few years' time the trading ships of Great Britain, Spain, and France were braving the storms and fogs of this western Newfoundland, and their crews were entering every roadstead and fiord, seeking, in the spirit of keen rivalry, the furs of the sea-otter and other animals.

The Americans were soon to be drawn into this commerce. On Cook's flagship, the *Resolution*, during the voyage above described, was an eccentric Connecticut Yankee named John Ledyard. As a youth, Ledyard attended Dartmouth College, intending to prepare for missionary work among the Indians. But, finding close attention to study uncongenial, he returned home, by way of the Connecticut, drifting down that stream in a "dug-out" with a few books as the sole companions of his voyage. A little later he decided to enter the British navy.

When Cook's expedition was being prepared, Ledyard was in England, and he shipped for the Arctic voyage as a corporal of marines. In many respects he was exactly the man for an enterprise of this kind, being always on the alert for whatever in his environment was novel or strange. Vigor of body, some mental training, and an unquenchable enthusiasm, combined to render the young American peculiarly serviceable to the great commander. One of his noteworthy feats was the exploration of the interior of Unalaska.

Ledyard served through the Cook expedition, returned to England and reënlisted in the British navy. Being carried on an English warship to the waters of Long Island Sound, just at the close of the Revolutionary War, he deserted the English service and returned to his old home from which

he had been absent many years. His experiences on the northwest coast, and the profits which had accrued from the sale of the furs at Canton, had fired the adventurer's mind and given him an insight into the greatness, both in wealth and commercial renown, which might be found in the fur trade of the North Pacific. He, therefore, tried to interest commercial men of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, among the latter the merchant and financier, Robert Morris, with a view to forming a partnership. Ledyard was to adventure his time, talents, and experience, the other party ships, equipment, and goods for the trade. Ledyard's scheme received favorable attention from Morris, but finally he refused to give it financial support, and none of the other business men who had been interviewed being more favorably inclined, Ledyard's hopes came to naught. It is probable, however, that the personal agitations of the adventurer were influential in developing the fur trade of the Northwest, for ventures similar to that proposed by him were undertaken from the Atlantic cities a few years later.

Ledyard in another way, also, besides personal appeal to business men, stimulated interest in the regions explored by Captain Cook. During the voyage the corporal had kept a diary in which he made copious notes on all topics of special interest. When he arrived in England this matter was taken from him by the superior officers; but he was able, nevertheless, to produce a brief account of the voyage which he published at Hartford in 1783, two years before the authorized history of Cook's discoveries was given to the world.

Although in 1783–1784 no one could be found to join Ledyard in carrying out his northwest coast trading plans, yet within three years circumstances practically forced American merchants to adopt his scheme. The trade with China for silks and teas had, before the Revolution, been a matter of interest to colonial merchants. After the war closed, as soon as it was safe to send out American ships, the *Empress of China* was dispatched from New York to the Orient,

reaching Canton late in the summer of 1784. This was the beginning of American national trade with China, and more American merchants engaged in it year by year. It was conducted, however, under one disadvantage—the costly cargoes purchased in China had to be paid for mainly in specie, America furnishing few goods which the Celestials demanded, and those of small value. If by some means ships could be freighted as richly on the outward as on the homeward voyage, the profits of exchange would be greatly increased. In the discussion of this problem Ledyard's plan of taking cargoes of furs from the northwest coast to Canton to pay for the silks and teas, was adopted.

The project of thus connecting the north Pacific trade with the China trade was first successfully undertaken in 1787 by a company of Boston merchants headed by Mr. J. Barrell. Two vessels were fitted out, the *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington*, with John Kendrick and Robert Gray as captains. They left Boston October 1st, rounded Cape Horn in April, 1788, and in September reached Nootka Sound, having traded with the natives on the Oregon coast, and incidentally noted on the way evidence of the existence of Fuca's Strait, which Cook had pronounced mythical. The vessels remained at Nootka during the winter of 1788–1789, and in the spring began the collection of furs along the coast, securing a large number of sea otter skins, giving in exchange for valuable pelts merest trifles of beads and other ornaments. Late in the summer Gray, who had taken charge of the *Columbia* for this purpose, sailed for China, sold the cargo of furs, loaded his vessel with tea, and returned to America by way of Good Hope, reaching Boston in August, 1790. This is noteworthy as the first voyage on which the American flag was carried round the world. It definitely inaugurated the American fur trade with the northwest coast which now became a matter of deep interest to the commercial classes of the eastern cities.

Important as was this trade for its immediate results, the incidental effects were of still greater interest. Gray, after

discharging the cargo of tea at Boston, was sent back to the Pacific in September, 1790, and reached Clayoquot June 5, 1791. The remainder of the summer was spent in trading and exploring along the coast, both north and south. Gray then went into winter quarters at Clayoquot, where he built the sloop *Adventure*, and in April, 1792, set out with the *Columbia* and the new vessel in search of more furs.

Taking a southern course, Gray in the *Columbia* on the 7th of May entered a harbor in latitude forty-six degrees fifty-eight minutes, which now bears his name. On the 11th of the same month he crossed the bar at the entrance of a great stream in latitude forty-six degrees ten minutes, and anchored ten miles within the capes which guard the entrance to the river. "Vast numbers of natives," as his log-book informs us, came alongside the ship in their canoes. During ten days the *Columbia* remained in the river, all hands apparently being kept busy filling the water casks, making and repairing irons, paying the sides of the vessel with tar, and repainting her. Besides, a trade was conducted with the Indians, and Gray made a brief exploration on shore. On the 14th, the ship sailed "twelve or fifteen miles" farther up the river; on the 19th Captain Gray gave this stream the name of "Columbia's River," and next day sailed out over the bar.

This was one of those fortunate occurrences which mark the path of our development as a continental power, for Gray was the representative of a group of Boston merchants interested in the profits of the fur trade, and with him exploration was an incident, not a primary motive. On the other hand, both Spain and Great Britain had, during the preceding seventeen years, sent several government expeditions to the northwest coast with the express objects of exploration and discovery. One of the Spanish navigators, Heceta, in 1775, discovered the bay at the mouth of Columbia River, but did not enter the stream itself. Cook, in 1778, passed up the coast from forty-four

A

JOURNAL

OF

Captain *COOK's*

LAST

VOYAGE

TO THE

Pacific Ocean,

AND IN QUEST OF A

North-West Passage,

BETWEEN

ASIA & AMERICA;

Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779.

Illustrated with a CHART, shewing the Tracts of the Ships employed in this Expedition.

Faithfully narrated from the original MS. of Mr. *JOHN LEDYARD.*

HARTFORD:
Printed and sold by NATHANIEL PATTEN,
a few Rods North of the Court-House,
M.D.CC.LXXXIII.

Title-page of the original Hartford edition, printed in 1783, of Ledyard's account of *Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. From an original in the Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.*

degrees, without suspecting the existence of the river. The commercial adventurers of Great Britain, following in the wake of Cook, were likewise denied the glory of this epoch-making discovery, although Meares, in 1788, saw the cape San Roque of Heceta, and called the haven within the capes "Deception Bay." He also renamed the northern cape "Disappointment." But Meares declares: "We can now with safety assert that no such river as Saint Roc exists, as laid down on Spanish charts."

Lastly, just before Gray's discovery there came to these shores the great English captain, Vancouver, dispatched with two vessels to the Pacific in 1791, to map the coast from thirty to sixty degrees, and seek a passage to the Atlantic. On the 27th of April, 1792, this navigator noted "the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind it not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burden" on account of the breakers across the opening. The inlet was recognized as that which was called by Meares "Deception Bay," and Vancouver thought there were "some streams falling into the bay, or into the opening north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention" he continued northward. On the 29th of April Vancouver spoke the *Columbia*, and in answer to inquiries addressed to Captain Gray was informed that on an earlier voyage signs of a great river had been seen in latitude forty-six degrees ten minutes, but that it had not been entered on account of the strength of the current. The Englishman showed what he thought of this news by writing in the ship's journal: "I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping on this coast, from Cape Mendocino [between forty and forty-one degrees] to the promontory of Classet [between forty-eight and forty-nine degrees]; nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert

in that space the existence of arms of the ocean communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers with safe and convenient ports."

This self-confidence no doubt gave place to chagrin when, a few weeks later, Vancouver learned for a certainty that the great River of the West had actually been discovered, entered and named by the Yankee trader, and that he had missed a unique opportunity of establishing claims to the northwest territory for the British king and people.

Vancouver learned of Gray's exploit from the Spanish navigator, Cuadra, and after surveying the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and the waters of the inland sea with which it communicates, Vancouver sent Lieutenant Broughton to examine the Columbia. Broughton entered the river on the 20th of October, sailed to a point about one hundred miles from its mouth, and returned again into the Pacific November 10th. Vancouver and Broughton thereupon sought to establish Great Britain's claim to the land drained by the Columbia, insisting that the American captain, Gray, had not seen the river proper, but only the inlet at its mouth. This was a distinction which seems not to have been accorded much weight in the international debate on the Oregon question a generation later. In that long dispute the discovery and naming of the river by Gray always formed the first in the series of claims by which the United States sought to maintain her right to the sovereignty of the Oregon country. Had America done nothing further to strengthen her position, Gray's discovery would not have been sufficient basis for our national claim, but by a fortunate combination of circumstances several things were achieved within twenty years after 1792, which established the American hold upon the region of the Columbia. Of these the most noteworthy were the exploration of the river valley by Lewis and Clark in 1804–1806, and the founding of Astoria, with other trading posts, on its banks in 1811–1813.

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WILLIAM CLARK MERIWETHER LEWIS

From the paintings by Charles Willson Peale, now hanging in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

CHAPTER III

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

After Gray's discovery of the Columbia, the history of American exploration toward the Pacific ceased to be a matter of mere casualty or accident, and under the wise direction of Thomas Jefferson became a matured feature of public policy. Jefferson's interest in the West had two sources. It arose naturally from the fact that he was born on what was then the Virginia frontier, fronting the West, his father being one of the earliest settlers in the Charlottesburg district of the Piedmont region. When the frontiersmen began to cross the mountains into Kentucky, Jefferson had entered the public service, and as a member of the legislature of Virginia or as governor of that commonwealth, duty required him to take an interest in the condition, hopes, and prospects of those pioneers.

But from another point of view Jefferson's interest in the West was the result of the philosophical inclination of his mind. Restless, curious, enthusiastic, Jefferson never was able to lose himself wholly in public affairs, but even in the busiest seasons of official life found time for a wide variety of scientific and philosophical researches. He was one of the leading spirits in the American Philosophical Society, which under the eighteenth century interpretation of that title, undertook the investigation of a variety of subjects, gathering information about geography, natural and physical science, history, anthropology, etc.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the country which lay beyond the Alleghanies, the great West, was the land wherein might be found all the wonders which imagination could conceive. Its geography, its peoples, its fauna and flora, were unknown; the vast stretches of territory beyond the Mississippi had scarcely been explored at all when the treaty of peace with Great Britain placed the western boundary of the United States at the river. To the investigation of this territory, then, Jefferson determined to devote what leisure his public duties permitted him, apparently with the hope of eventually instituting systematic surveys. As early as November 26, 1782, in a letter to Mr. Steptoe, after speaking of the probability of obtaining some "big bones" most earnestly desired, he suggests various inquiries which might profitably be made: "Descriptions of animals, vegetables, minerals, or other curious things; *notes as to the Indians' information of the country between the Mississippi and the South Sea*, etc., etc., will strike your mind as worthy of being communicated. I wish you had more time to pay attention to them."

A year later, on December 4, 1783, while sitting in the Confederation Congress at Annapolis, Jefferson wrote to George Rogers Clark, again mentioning the "bones, teeth, and tusks of the Mammoth," which Clark had promised to procure for him. When he wrote this letter, the treaty of peace with Great Britain was only three months old, and the last of the British troops had just departed from the Atlantic coast; but he speaks of a plan already maturing to explore the unknown region west of the Mississippi. "I find," says Jefferson, "they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. they pretend it is only to promote knolege. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter. some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making the attempt to search that country. but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. how would you like to lead

such a party? tho I am afraid the prospect is not worth asking the question."

Here we have, so far as is known, the first definite suggestion of an American expedition to the Pacific by an overland route, although, in a way, the idea was foreshadowed by the appeal for information about that country contained in the Steptoe letter. Whether or not the route later chosen was identical with that which Jefferson had in mind in 1783, we do not know; but the fact that California was the objective point suggests that he wished George Rogers Clark to cross the country by a southern line, possibly by way of Santa Fé. This is not at all certain, however, for the term California, under the Spanish régime, like the name Florida in the sixteenth century, included much more than the settled region. Other points concerning the project of 1783 are equally in doubt. What influence, if any, did the publication of Ledyard's book in this year have in stimulating Jefferson's interest in matters relating to the Pacific coast? What was the British project which he appears to make use of for the purpose of inciting to effort his own countrymen?

Although there is no certainty that Ledyard had any connection with Jefferson's project of 1783, yet when the statesman next approached the subject, three years later, the Yankee adventurer figures as the leading character in a new project to explore the trans-Mississippi country, this time starting from the side of the Pacific and following a northern course. Ledyard, after his failure to interest American merchants in his North Pacific commercial plans, had gone to France where he hoped to secure aid for the consummation of his schemes through the intercession of Paul Jones, who had agreed to join in the enterprise, but again the adventurer was disappointed. At Paris, however, he met the American minister; and as Ledyard was now "panting for some new enterprise," Jefferson encouraged him in the following plan, a plan which Ledyard seems already to have evolved: "To go by land to Kamtchatka,

cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate to and through that to the United States." Ledyard was "dying" as he wrote, "to be on the back of the American States, after having either come from or penetrated to the Pacific ocean. There is an extensive field for the acquirement of honest fame. A blush of generous regret sits on my cheek when I hear of any discovery there which I have had no part in, and particularly at this auspicious period. The American Revolution invites to a thorough discovery of the continent, . . . let a native explore its resources and boundaries. It is my wish to be the man."

After the Siberian plan had been well matured and Jefferson had applied for passports through Russia, Ledyard received an invitation from an English gentleman to go to London, and on reaching there was offered free passage to any part of the northwest coast of America on a ship about to sail thither. It was exactly the chance he wanted, and Ledyard embarked with his two great dogs and his Indian pipe and hatchet, which constituted the entire outfit for the journey, and was enjoying the sensation of being actually under way, when the ship was overhauled and brought back by order of the government. With a heavy heart, Ledyard turned to the plan for proceeding by way of Siberia. He raised a subscription for the project in London, and took ship to the continent to begin the overland journey. He travelled on foot through Sweden, Lapland, and Finland to St. Petersburg in the winter of 1786–1787; secured his passport after a long wait; and on the 1st of June set out for the far northeast, in company with a Scotch physician who was travelling under the auspices of the Russian government. On the 13th of September, Ledyard and his companion arrived at Yakutsk, where they met the Englishman, Billings, a man who had been a companion of Cook, and who was now in the Russian service and planning an expedition of discovery to the American coast. Ledyard hoped to secure passage with him, and went to

Irkutsk to await the end of the preparations; but at that place he was arrested by order of the empress and carried back across Siberia, being "conveyed day and night, without ever stopping, till they reached Poland, where he was set down and left to himself." He made his way back to London, arriving there in May, 1788, "disappointed, ragged, penniless." Soon after this he was engaged by the African Association in London to search for the sources of the Nile. He undertook this expedition, but died very suddenly at Cairo in November, 1788, a few days after writing an enthusiastic letter regarding his trip to his friend Thomas Jefferson.

In the United States, by this time, interest in the trans-Mississippi country was becoming widespread, and in the spring of 1790 Captain John Armstrong, of Louisville, set out to cross the continent alone by way of the Missouri. The journey was undertaken at the suggestion of General Knox, Washington's secretary of war, who acted through General Harmer and Governor St. Clair, of the Northwest Territory. Armstrong, however, proceeded only a short distance above St. Louis, when he was turned back by reports of disturbances among the Indians.

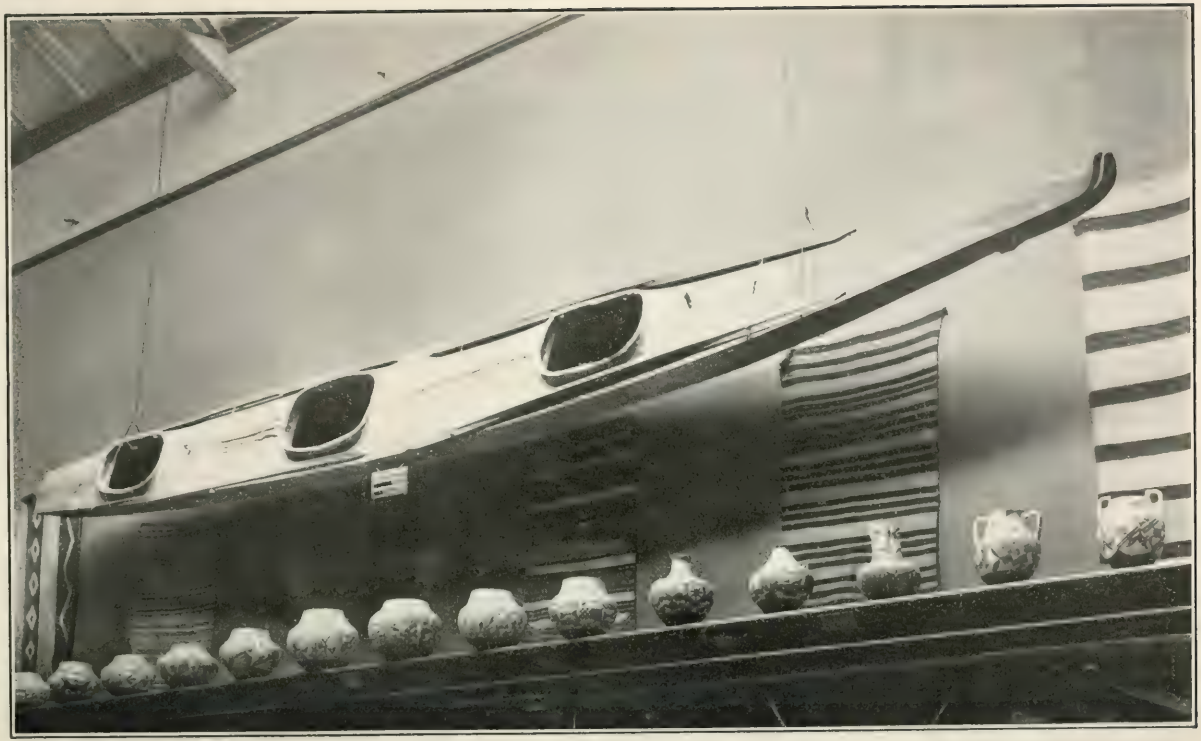
Two years later Thomas Jefferson, already twice balked in his efforts to secure an exploring expedition, became sponsor for a third project of the same kind. This time the leader of the expedition was to be André Michaux, a renowned French botanist. Having spent several years in the United States, pursuing his scientific researches, sometimes beyond the bounds of settlement, Michaux, in 1792, proposed an expedition to the Pacific under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. Jefferson at once took the matter up, giving it his hearty support, and becoming responsible to some extent for its execution. Acting for the society, he instructed the scientist to proceed to Kaskaskia, and from there cross over to the Missouri, striking the river above the settlements to avoid the risk of being stopped. He was then to ascend the Missouri, by

the branch extending most directly toward the Pacific. "It would seem by the latest maps," says Jefferson, "as if a river called Oregon, interlocked with the Missouri," but the statesman recognized the unreliable character of these maps, and left the explorer to select his own route from the headwaters of the Missouri. He was instructed to keep a journal, which should be sent back from the Pacific by sea, if opportunity offered, and on his return to the United States was to report in person at Philadelphia. The "first of all objects," was that Michaux "seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean."

The plan was elaborated with Jefferson's customary thoroughness, and considering the energy, skill and experience of Michaux, had a fair chance of success. But now began that interesting episode in the history of the West, which is associated with the name of the French minister Genêt, who came to America in the spring of 1793 with a carefully laid plan to conquer Spanish Louisiana, by hurling a force of Kentucky riflemen against New Orleans. George Rogers Clark was made the military head of this enterprise in the West, receiving a commission from the French government for the purpose; and Michaux, who was ready to start on his overland trip, was employed as a sort of special agent of the minister to Clark and the Kentuckians. This occupied Michaux's time for a number of months, and with the events of 1794, which brought Genêt's mission to such a sudden termination, the exploring expedition was also abandoned.

In spite of these repeated failures to carry out his project of exploration, Jefferson held to it; and finally, when he was president, his opportunity came. France did not gain Louisiana in 1793, as Genêt had hoped, but, seven years later, Napoleon, anxious to build up a colonial empire in the New World, forced Spain to retrocede the country to his government. The news of this transaction created great

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Baidarka, covered with walrus skin, such as the Alaskans and Aleuts use in hunting the sea-otter.
From the original in the Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

alarm in the United States. "Perhaps," says Jefferson, in April, 1802, "nothing since the Revolutionary War has produced more uneasy sensations throughout the body of the nation."

To this prospective change of neighbors at the mouth of the Mississippi was soon added the further disquieting fact that the Spanish intendant at New Orleans had practically closed the river to Americans by denying the right of deposit guaranteed to the United States by treaty. Alarm now gave place to indignation and a desire for war, especially throughout the West. President Jefferson sought to allay the passions of the people, believing that the renewal of the war in Europe was close at hand, and that it would be practicable to secure American rights by peaceful negotiation with France. His plan was to buy New Orleans and the Floridas, if possible; if not, to await the renewal of the European war and then seize the desired places, with the help of the British fleet, or, as he intimated a little later, secure them as the price of our neutrality. Robert Livingston, the United States minister in France, had been instructed to open negotiations with Napoleon. Now, partly to satisfy the West, Monroe was sent to Paris as a special commissioner to coöperate with Livingston, and Congress adopted measures to put the country in a state of preparation against a possible war for the possession of the Mississippi.

It was under these circumstances that President Jefferson made his recommendation of an exploring expedition to be sent by the line of Missouri River, and then by the most available water route to the Pacific. This trip was proposed and outlined in a confidential message to Congress, January 18, 1803. In the same document Jefferson advocated a renewal of the law under which the government Indian trade was being carried on, and advised that this trade be extended for the purpose of developing settled habits among the Indians. The underlying motive in this was to draw the roving bands closer together, on a comparatively small area of land, and to induce them to sell the remaining portions

of territory, which under an agricultural régime would be useless to them. Several of the tribes held, without occupying, the lands directly upon the Mississippi, from the Yazoo north to the Ohio; and it was of the highest importance, Jefferson thought, to secure this land and plant colonies of Americans along the river, thus establishing "on the Mississippi itself the means of its own safety."

Apparently, Jefferson felt, and wished Congress to feel, that an expedition to make commercial arrangements with the Indians along the Missouri would be an additional protection to the Mississippi frontier; for the relation of many of these tribes to the great river was very close. Perhaps he thought that such activity among the western Indians, who were already beginning to feel, "like a light breeze," as he wrote, the influence of the prospective French occupation of Louisiana, would have a salutary effect upon the negotiations at Paris. A suggestion made by him, a little later, that it would be good policy for the United States to furnish arms and ammunition to those tribesmen who had passed from the American to the Spanish side of the river, helps to reinforce the presumption that Jefferson had the French negotiations in mind. Briefly, Jefferson believed that every precaution should be taken to strengthen the nation on the Mississippi; and that this would be best accomplished by buying the Indian lands along its banks as rapidly as possible, settling families from the States on these lands, and so presenting as solid a front on the western as on the eastern boundary. At the same time, assurance should be made doubly sure by gaining the friendship of the Indians west of the river, both in the southern and northern parts of Louisiana.

While the political features of the expedition for establishing commercial relations with the Indians were no doubt prominent in the mind of the president, without doubt he regarded it also as a means and an excuse for undertaking the long contemplated scientific exploration of the great West. "An intelligent officer," he writes, "with ten or

twelve men fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders, as others are admitted, agree on a convenient deposit for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers, . . . The interests of commerce place the main object within the constitutional power and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our continent, can but be an additional gratification."

In order to "cover the undertaking from notice, and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way," Jefferson suggested the appropriation of $2,500 merely "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States," which, it was understood, would give him the necessary authority to send the expedition. Congress passed the bill and preparations were at once begun for sending out the party.

Thus it appears that this crucially important enterprise was the outcome of a variety of motives, having their bases not in the Louisiana Purchase itself, but partly in the events and conditions which also gave rise to the treaty with Napoleon by which Louisiana was secured to the United States. There is no truth whatever in the oft reiterated statement that Lewis and Clark were sent out for the purpose of inspecting the lands we had bought.

The man selected to carry out the exploring enterprise was Captain Meriwether Lewis, at that time private secretary to the president. Lewis was a Virginian in whom Jefferson had long manifested a deep interest because of his engaging personality, enthusiastic nature, and exceptional talents. When the Michaux project was about to be launched, Lewis applied to Jefferson for an opportunity to participate in the enterprise, but being then a youth of only eighteen the request was denied. When, as a mature man

of twenty-eight, seasoned by experience in camp and forest, with special interests and qualifications fitting him for such service, he asked for the leadership, Jefferson did not hesitate to entrust the expedition to his hands. He was, in the president's estimation, "of courage undaunted, possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded by exact observations of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves."

At Lewis's suggestion it was decided to associate with him another officer, equal in command, in order that the party might be prepared most effectually to operate in two divisions if on occasions this should be found necessary or expedient. Jefferson permitted the leader to select his companion, and the choice fell on William Clark. Like Lewis, he was an army officer, who had seen much hard service in the campaigns against the Ohio Indians, and had travelled widely through the West, crossing the Mississippi on several occasions. In every respect he was admirably qualified to share with Lewis the responsibilities and labors of the exploring venture, and on personal grounds the selection was a most happy one. Clark's commission gave him the rank of second lieutenant of artillery, while his fellow officer was a captain; but "Lewis . . . consistently regarded Clark as his official equal, both being styled by all connected with the party as 'Captain.' Throughout all the trying experiences of the three years during which they were united, their respect and friendship for each other but deepened and strengthened—a record far from common among exploring parties."



John Floyd.

From a print in the collection of Colonel Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky.



The instructions given Lewis by President Jefferson, in May and June, 1803, contain the best exposition of his views with reference to the purposes of the expedition. "The object of your mission," he says, "is to explore the Missouri river, and such principal streams of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce." Observations were to be taken fixing the latitude and longitude of all remarkable places along whatever rivers were traversed, and of the portages between their headwaters; careful notes were to be kept by the leaders, and others of the party were to be encouraged to keep diaries also. The party was instructed to learn the names of Indian tribes, their numbers, and all facts tending to promote trade and harmonious relations between them and the Americans; they were also to collect curious information respecting their traditions and monuments. Soils, animal and vegetable life, minerals, geological remains, and geographical facts were mentioned as subjects for investigation.

"Should you reach the Pacific Ocean," wrote the president, "inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri . . . as at Nootka Sound or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and the United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised." On reaching the Pacific, Lewis was to try to find some vessel by which two of the company could be sent back with the information collected. If Lewis thought best, the entire party might return by sea, and to defray these and other extraordinary expenses an open letter of credit was furnished, pledging the faith of the United States for the repayment of any sums of money advanced to or in return for service rendered the explorers.

One of the paragraphs in the instructions, most characteristic of Thomas Jefferson, is that in which Captain Lewis is enjoined to "bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information."

About midsummer, 1803, Lewis set out from Washington for Pittsburg. At Pittsburg he was delayed for several weeks by the delinquency of a boat-builder, but began the descent of the Ohio on the last day of August. At the several military stations along that river and the Mississippi he enlisted volunteers to the number of fourteen. The party contained, when complete, including the two captains, the sergeants, privates, interpreters, an Indian woman, Sacajawea, and Clark's negro, York, a total of thirty-two persons. Sixteen others, seven soldiers and nine voyageurs, were employed to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan villages.

After a winter spent in camp on the American side of the Mississippi, the exploring party, on May 14, 1804, entered the Missouri and began the long ascent of the river. The undertaking was recognized as a notable one, fraught with danger and difficulty to all concerned in it, but likely to confer new honors upon the nation. The people of St. Louis and St. Charles, and groups of newly arrived immigrants from east of the river, manifested the deepest interest in the expedition, as day by day it toiled up the swift and treacherous current.

On the 25th of May they passed La Charette, a little village of seven houses, near which the celebrated pioneer Daniel Boone dwelt in his woodland home, on the very outskirts of settlement. Thenceforth the journey was entirely through the Indian country. For some days yet they occasionally met traders, bringing down boatloads of furs from the Kansas, the Platte, and the Sioux. At Council Bluff, so named by the Lewis and Clark party, a great conference was held with several Indian tribes. On the 20th of August, when passing the present site of Sioux City, the expedition sustained its only loss by death in the person of Sergeant Charles Floyd.

Moving on amid constantly shifting, yet always similar scenes—a mingling of prairie, river, hill, and fringing wood—through the country of the Sioux tribes (with one of which they had an unpleasant experience), the party at the end of October reached the villages of the Mandans, and prepared to pass the winter in camp.

Fort Mandan, as the camp was named, was simply two rows of rude blockhouses, with shed roofs rising from the inner side, and so arranged that they formed two sides of a triangle of which the third was set with strong palisades. The construction was mainly of cottonwood logs found growing along the river in the vicinity. Here the Lewis and Clark expedition spent five cold and stormy months, from November to April. In the intervals of hunting the leaders busied themselves with the preparation of the report of the journey to that point, and other matters to be sent back to the President in the spring; in gaining all possible information, from Indians and British traders, concerning the country to the north and west; in promoting friendly relations with the surrounding tribes; in building boats, and making other preparations for the forward movement toward the west.

By the 7th of April, 1805, the river was clear of ice, and on that date, all being in readiness, the keel-boat was sent down the river with ten men to carry dispatches to St. Louis. At the same time, the main party headed their eight boats up the stream. For a time all went well. On the 26th of the month they reached the mouth of the Yellowstone, and were able to learn from the natives many facts about the character of the river, its source, direction, length, and the country through which it flowed. In this region was the greatest profusion of game yet encountered, and the abundance of beaver pointed to some spot, near the junction of the two rivers, as a favorable place for a trading post.

But the establishment of trading centres was for those who should come later; the first explorers had leisure only

to note appearances, admire, prophesy, and pass on toward the sources of the great Missouri, through a "succession of curious adventures" which "wore the impression of inchantment," and made the journey, as Lewis tells us, seem sometimes more like a dream than a reality. On the 13th of June the advance party reached the Falls of the Missouri, which were passed in safety; on the 25th they arrived at the three forks; and after a month spent in ascending the turbulent Jefferson branch, they finally entered the mountains where it has its source on the 30th of August. The Shoshone Indians, parties of which were found in the vicinity, were able to supply the expedition with horses for the difficult journey to the navigable waters of the Columbia system, which they reached by following the Lolo trail to the Clearwater. It was a trying march, through dense woods, dark defiles, over numberless obstructions of rocks and fallen timber, and consumed somewhat more than three weeks.

On the 7th of October, having provided themselves once more with boats, the party began the triumphant voyage to the Pacific. Their course was from the Clearwater to the Snake, by the Snake to the main Columbia; then, past the Great Falls, the Dalles, and the Cascades to tidewater. It was the 7th of November, 1805, the explorers tell us, when, with emotions which it would be impossible to describe, they first beheld the waves of the long sought Western Ocean, "the object of all our labors, the reward of all our anxieties."

Two years had passed since the party went into winter quarters at River Du Bois, and eighteen months since they left the American frontier. Their supplies were exhausted, their clothing in tatters, and little remained of the goods brought out for trade. While plenty of indications pointed to the fact that traders frequented the mouth of the river, none were there during the winter of 1805–1806, and no opportunity offered either to return by sea or to procure fresh supplies by using Jefferson's letter of credit. The party must shift for itself as best it might. The first necessity



Seals on beach in Alaska.



Old fur traders' store in Alaska.



was shelter. This was prepared by the end of December at a spot near Young's Bay, a few miles from the present site of Astoria, and the structure there erected was called Fort Clatsop, from the neighboring tribe of Indians.

There, in the most humid section of the Oregon coast, and away from the haunts of game, they spent a most disagreeable winter. All remained in good health, however, and at last the period of imprisonment was over. Long before the snow had disappeared from the mountains crossed in the preceding autumn, the party left its camp in the hope of bettering its condition by moving inland. Written statements were distributed among the Indians, notifying traders visiting the region that the dauntless Americans had achieved the task allotted to them of crossing the continent to the Pacific. These notices would preserve a record of its work even should the party be cut off on the return journey. But no such accident befell them, and exactly six months from the time of breaking camp on the Pacific coast, on the 23d of September, 1806, the entire party entered St. Louis, having recrossed the mountains by the same general route, but making collateral explorations of considerable importance.

The Lewis and Clark expedition has passed into history. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the work achieved. In the first place, a practical way had been opened across the continent, which, with some modifications, long remained the great highway between the Mississippi and the Western Ocean. By traversing the main stream and branches of the Columbia, the explorers established for the government a strong claim upon the valley of the river, whose port had been discovered by an American thirteen years before. In short, Lewis and Clark, with their little band of Westerners, were the pioneers of a mighty movement, which eventually was to carry the laws and institutions of the young republic across the continent, and give our nation a frontage on the Pacific shores similar to that on the Atlantic coast.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST OCCUPATION OF THE COLUMBIA

THE occupation of Columbia River was effected because of conditions similar to those which produced the first settlements on the Hudson and the Mississippi. The motive of colonization was the fur trade. For in the northern part of the North American continent fur-bearing animals abounded, and the skins could be procured from Indian trappers in exchange for articles of small value. Indeed, in the annals of the fur trading companies may be read the early history of that part of the continent which is designated the Pacific Northwest.

In the forests of British America, operating from the Atlantic side, were thousands of men who were solely engaged in exploiting the streams rising in the interior, along whose courses abounded the beaver, whose skin was very valuable, as well as other animals. From the earliest settlement of Canada, this fur trade of the great water courses was the leading interest of that region, and promoted a very rapid advance inland. Champlain, the father of Canada, explored the route of the Ottawa to Lake Huron, and sent his agents as far west as Wisconsin; before the seventeenth century ended French traders had explored the Great Lakes to their western extremity, and had passed over to the waters of the Mississippi. From Lake Superior they had gradually pushed farther westward, until, at the close of the French rule in 1763, the chain of trading posts extended along

Saskatchewan River almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. It had been the ambition of these French trappers to extend their exploration across the mountain barrier to the Western Ocean; but this achievement was reserved for another nation.

The change of sovereignty over Canada, resulting from the British conquest, for a time demoralized this wilderness commerce, but gradually it was restored, Britons taking the places of importance instead of the French merchants formerly in control, though the traders and most of the subordinate employés were French.

Another serious shock to the northern fur trade was caused by the American Revolution; but the chief obstacle to its prosperity, after the coming of the British, in the period following 1763, was the unrelenting and often sanguinary competition which prevailed among the numerous companies engaged in the trade. These trading companies paid little heed to law or justice, and descended to the basest methods of defeating rival parties. As a result of this warfare, profits decreased until it seemed as if the fur business would have to be abandoned. Impelled by these considerations, several of the leading merchants formed in 1783 a trading association, which four years later developed into the Northwest Company, and soon controlled almost the entire region formerly exploited by the French.

After the formation of the company, the business became very profitable, and efforts were made to extend operations into the yet unoccupied territories farther to the north and west. An additional motive for exploration was the desire to discover a route to the Pacific.

The rival of the Northwest Company was the Hudson's Bay Company, and this corporation had gained greatly through the explorations of Samuel Hearne. Not to be outdone, the Northwest Company determined to undertake a similar exploration. By good fortune, they had in their association a man every way qualified for the task, Alexander—afterward Sir Alexander—Mackenzie, who in 1787

was sent from Montreal to take charge of the most western department of the trade.

In 1789, Mackenzie set out from Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabasca, with a small party embarked in canoes, and, circling Great Slave Lake, discovered a river flowing northward. This he descended to the Arctic Ocean, making the entire voyage in forty days. Returning, he immediately prepared to push the trade of the company along the line of his new discoveries. This voyage Mackenzie believed would settle the question of the impracticability of the Northwest Passage, for on reaching the sea, about latitude sixty-nine degrees, in the month of July, he found it choked with ice; moreover, he discerned dimly, in the west, a chain of mountains, running still farther toward the north.

Three years later, Mackenzie, having meantime spent a winter in London studying the use of astronomical instruments to fit himself better for the work of exploration, entered upon a new and more difficult undertaking. Since he had decided that it was not possible to find a passage around the continent, he considered it all-important to discover one leading across it. Mackenzie proposed to reach the Pacific by ascending Peace River, which enters Lake Athabasca from the west, and from its sources to cross the Rocky Mountains to some westward flowing stream. This feat he actually accomplished, after a succession of difficulties which it would be nearly impossible to exaggerate. In the autumn of 1792 he ascended Peace River to the base of the Rockies, where he wintered. On the 9th of May following, he resumed the journey. The party, consisting of ten men, crossed the mountains, and finally, on the 18th of June, 1793, discovered a navigable river having a true western course. They descended the stream for twenty-five days, but, becoming dissatisfied with the slowness of navigation, determined to take a more direct route to the west. By following an old trail, and afterward descending a small river, the party reached the coast of the Western Ocean in latitude fifty-two degrees twenty minutes, at a place which

had recently been surveyed by Captain Vancouver and called Cascade Canal. Here, on the even surface of an overhanging cliff, the British explorer left a memorial of his discovery in the legend: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

Mackenzie supposed that the stream down which he had floated for so many days was the long sought River of the West, and in the map published with Mackenzie's *Voyages* in 1801, the river partially explored by him is called the Columbia, a dotted line representing its conjectured course from the point reached above to its mouth in latitude forty-six degrees ten minutes. Acting upon this erroneous belief, Mackenzie developed in his book a vast commercial scheme, the outlines of which foreshadow in a remarkable way the course of historical evolution in the fur trade. The scope of country now rendered accessible was so great that it could be successfully exploited only by a concern which commanded an enormous capital. Even the association represented by him, on account of the inconvenient course of transportation by Montreal, to which it was limited, would find itself embarrassed in undertaking such a project, and Mackenzie therefore proposed a union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies. He suggested centring the entire trade, from the Rockies east, at the mouth of Nelson River, on Hudson Bay, by the line of Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. From the source of the last named river he would pass, either directly west or by the more northerly route discovered in 1793, to the headwaters of the Columbia, which "is the line of communication from the Pacific pointed out by nature, . . . By opening this intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," he says, "and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained, from latitude forty-eight degrees north [evidently a misprint for forty-five degrees] to the

pole, except that portion of it which the Russians have in the Pacific. To this may be added the fishing in both seas and the markets of the four quarters of the globe." By this means Great Britain would be recompensed for her heavy expense in exploring the Pacific coast; and the irresponsible American traders would, Mackenzie said, "instantly disappear before a well-regulated trade."

Should the Hudson's Bay Company decline to enter into a combination for these beneficent national purposes, so Mackenzie argued, then that corporation ought to be strictly confined, by law, to the territory through which it had been accustomed to operate; and the government ought to concede to the Northwest Company, in view of its assumption of the larger enterprise, a right of way, for transport only, through Nelson River basin to the Atlantic.

Neither of these projects was at once realized and the field west of the Rockies lay uncultivated for more than a decade after Mackenzie's journey to the Pacific. The expedition of Lewis and Clark, who met British traders at Fort Mandan during the winter of 1804–1805, stimulated the "Northwesters" to extraordinary exertions, and in 1806 Simon Fraser, of the Northwest Company, built the first trading post on the "Tacouche Tesse," in about latitude fifty-four degrees. Fraser, like Mackenzie, supposed that this river was the Columbia, until in 1808 he descended to its mouth and reached the ocean in latitude forty-nine degrees instead of forty-six degrees. The stream was then given Fraser's name.

By 1808, the Northwest Company maintained several posts on Fraser River. The region west of the Rockies was known as New Caledonia, and it seemed as if the Canadians were destined soon to reach and overspread the Columbia valley also. Before this could be consummated significant operations elsewhere seriously affected the plans of the British trading company.

The most important immediate effect of the Lewis and Clark expedition was the stimulation of the American fur

trade. St. Louis had been established, early in 1764, as a convenient centre for the trade of a large unoccupied territory in the vicinity of the lower Missouri and upper Mississippi. It soon attracted a considerable population. Efforts had been made to gain a foothold upon the upper courses of the Missouri, but these had been unsuccessful until the return of the Lewis and Clark explorers, in the fall of 1806, who reported the richness of the beaver field above, and the friendliness to the Americans of most of the up-river tribes. A number of traders passed up stream the next season, and from these beginnings grew the Missouri Fur Company, organized at St. Louis in 1808, which operated along the Missouri and its branches for many years, and contributed powerfully to making St. Louis one of the greatest fur markets in the world.

But the Lewis and Clark expedition exerted an influence beyond the confines of the Mississippi valley, and finally gave to the United States a trading association similar to those which divided the commerce of the northern forests. The rise of this organization, which has an important relation to the history of the North Pacific States, was accomplished through the efforts of John Jacob Astor, an enterprising German merchant, who had come to the United States in 1784 with a small capital, which he invested in furs. Selling these at a large profit he decided to make this line of merchandising a specialty, and such was his skill and judgment that he soon amassed a large fortune, and gained distinction in commercial circles. Astor purchased most of his furs at Montreal from the Northwest Company, becoming in this way thoroughly familiar with the methods of the company and gaining some idea of the profits accruing from the business. With the purchase of Louisiana and the exploration of Missouri and Columbia Rivers, there developed in Astor's mind a project similar to that which had been suggested by Mackenzie a few years earlier, but the New York merchant proposed to establish the business as an American enterprise.



Old Russian blockhouse in Alaska.

The first step in the carrying out of Astor's scheme was the organization of the American Fur Company, incorporated under the laws of New York in April, 1808, with a capital of one million dollars. With this fund the founder purchased a part of the stock and establishments of the Michilimackinac Company, and began trade along the Great Lakes, on the American side. Astor, who was the controlling spirit in the organization, although there were other partners, was then prepared to launch the larger enterprise. His proposition was to make New York the eastern, and the mouth of the Columbia the western terminus, in a trade which should extend across the continent, and draw its supplies from the northern parts of the United States, as well as the Pacific Northwest. A chain of trading posts was to be built at suitable intervals from the Pacific along the Columbia and the Missouri to the Mississippi, and thence eastward by way of the Great Lakes. All furs collected west of the Rockies, on the Columbia and its branches, together with the proceeds of the trade along the Pacific coast, were to be brought to a central establishment on the Columbia. To this place Astor was to send annually a ship, which should carry to the Pacific coast the supplies required by all the northwestern posts; then take on a cargo of furs, proceed to Canton, and after exchanging them for teas, silks, and other Chinese goods, sail for New York.

Another feature of the plan proposed to open a regular trade with the Russian settlements in Alaska. The fur trade of this extreme northwestern region had remained, until 1799, somewhat chaotic, being prosecuted by several companies, whose relations were marked by more than the customary evils of unrestrained competition. By 1808, however, the business had consolidated under the new Russian-American Fur Company, which had been granted a monopoly for twenty years of the entire trade of the Pacific coast and adjacent islands, from the parallel of fifty-five degrees to Bering's Strait; under this arrangement the business grew to large proportions.

The central establishment, New Archangel, was located on the Island of Sitka, where Count Baranoff, the rough but talented chief of the company, long held sway as lord of the hyperborean world. But the Russians in Alaska, while prospering greatly so far as the trade itself was concerned, were at a disadvantage in respect to the transport of supplies, depending largely upon the chance appearance of American vessels in those northern waters. Or else their furs found a market by an indirect and expensive route, which led first to Siberia, and then overland by caravans to the northern cities of the Chinese Empire.

Astor saw in these conditions the opportunity for advantageous arrangements with the Russians, by which his ships to the Pacific might carry supplies to New Archangel, to be exchanged for furs. He believed that he could afford to pay better prices than the Russians were accustomed to receive, and yet sell at a good profit in the Canton market.

Having matured all phases of the great project, Astor, in 1810, organized the Pacific Fur Company as a sort of western department of the American Fur Company. Of this company, too, Astor himself was the responsible head, furnishing the capital, owning one-half of the stock, and insuring the enterprise against losses for the term of five years. He associated with himself a number of partners (ten, all told), who were expected to carry the plan into execution under his general supervision, and share in any profits which might arise. Most of these, as well as the clerks, were men drawn by Astor from the ranks of the Northwest Company. Indeed, at first he had contemplated a union with this concern, but his advances were not well received, and he then determined deliberately to challenge their opposition. Wilson Price Hunt, an American from New Jersey, was chosen as the first resident agent on the Columbia and acting head of the department.

Two expeditions were prepared, one to go by sea, the other overland. On September 6, 1810, Astor dispatched the ship *Tonquin*, of two hundred and ninety tons burden,

freighted with merchandise for the trade, supplies for the men sailing in her, and for those who were expected to join them, and materials for the construction of a trading establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. The ship when she left New York had on board four of the partners, a number of clerks, voyageurs, etc., aggregating about sixty men. In order to prevent the impressment of the British subjects on board, the United States government detailed the frigate *Constitution* to convoy the ship into safe waters. The *Tonquin* entered the Pacific in December, and the following February touched at the Hawaiian Islands. While the voyage to that point had been without accident to the ship, all had not been well on board, owing to the friction between the partners, who were a set of vigorous, independent men, accustomed to command rather than to obey, and the captain in charge of the ship. This captain, Jonathan Thorn, was an American naval officer on leave, who no doubt understood the discipline of a man-of-war, but had little of the tact required to manage a group of fur traders, who believed that, as partners in the enterprise, they were entitled to direct the ship's course and otherwise dictate to her navigators. Both parties were blamable, the partners being insubordinate, the captain unnecessarily headstrong and wilful. Captain Thorn has been held responsible for the first loss of life aboard the *Tonquin*. When the vessel reached the entrance to the Columbia, March 22, 1811, in spite of the turbulence of the waters, and the fact that the elements were against him, the captain insisted on sounding the channel. The attempt cost the lives of seven men.

Finally, on the 25th of March, the *Tonquin* was safely anchored in the river, and Astor's men prepared to plant the first American colony on the shores of the Pacific. During the preceding summer, the Columbia had, indeed, been visited by Captains Jonathan and Nathan Winship, of Boston, who tried to establish a commercial station near its mouth, but had been driven off by the terrific flood of that

season. But when the Astor party landed, "spring, usually so tardy in this latitude, was already advanced; the foliage was budding, and the earth was clothing itself with verdure; the weather was superb, and all nature smiled. We imagined ourselves," says Franchère,—from whom the above quotation is taken,—"in the garden of Eden; the wild forests seemed to us delightful groves, and the leaves transformed to brilliant flowers." Over two months were consumed in selecting a site for the fort, appropriately named Astoria, preparing a place for the cargo, and unloading the vessel.

On the 5th of June, the *Tonquin* left the Columbia for a trading cruise to the north; she had on board Alexander Mackay as chief trader, and J. Lewis as clerk. From this voyage neither the ship nor a single soul that sailed in her returned; but after a time there penetrated through the forest from Nootka a gruesome story of the *Tonquin's* destruction. Indian accounts related that the vessel entered the bay of Clayoquot to trade. The natives crowded around in their canoes and a brisk exchange of goods began. Misunderstandings arose between the captain and some of the leading Indian visitors, but in spite of the signs of ill feeling manifested by the natives, Captain Thorn took no precautions to prevent an attack, even though Astor had particularly instructed him to be on his guard against the Indians. He allowed so many natives to come on board at a time that they outnumbered the white men two or three to one, and then the Indians fell upon the crew and quickly killed all but five. These succeeded in reaching the cabin and, securing firearms, were enabled to clear the ship.

Four of the survivors then determined to attempt to reach the shore in the ship's boat, but the fifth man, being severely wounded, preferred to remain on board. Next day, so we are told, the Indians again appeared about the *Tonquin*, and at the invitation of the wounded man, several hundred came on board, apparently with the purpose of looting the ship. They did not find the white man, and little dreamed what a terrible revenge he was preparing for them in the

vessel's hold. In the magazine was stored a large quantity of powder, and this the survivor of the massacre is supposed to have fired. The ship, with all on board, was instantly destroyed. The four men who had reached the shore were captured by the natives and tortured to death.

While the *Tonquin* was being prepared for her voyage in the summer of 1810, Wilson Price Hunt was employed in collecting a party for the overland journey to the Pacific. Men were secured at Montreal and Mackinac, carried down from the Great Lakes to St. Louis by Fox and Wisconsin Rivers and placed in a winter camp on the Missouri. In April, 1811, the start was made by boat up the river. It was the intention of the leader to follow the courses of the Missouri and the Yellowstone, but information of the hostile disposition of the Blackfoot Indians induced Hunt to leave the Missouri at a point somewhat south of the present boundary line between the two Dakotas, at the Aricara villages. Upon leaving the waterway, Hunt furnished his party with pack horses purchased from the Aricaras and from the St. Louis trader, Manuel Lisa, who was ascending the river at the same time.

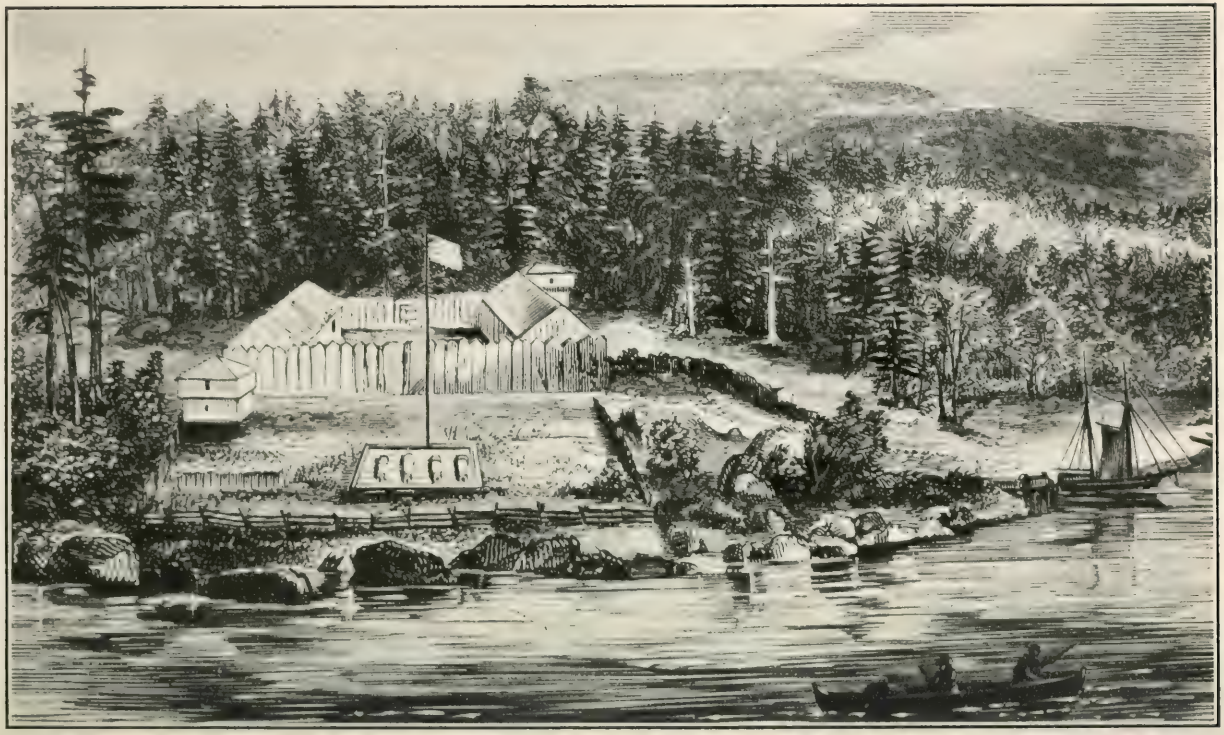
On the 18th of July the caravan started across the country, keeping a course generally southwest over the plains, crossing the Big Horn and Wind River Mountains, and by the 16th of September reaching the valley of Green River. It then crossed the divide to an affluent of Snake River, where, unfortunately, the party abandoned its horses, built canoes, and tried to navigate the stream. All went well for a short time, but soon the torrential character of the Snake in this region forced the expedition to leave the river at the Cauldron Linn. The goods which could not be carried, or which would not serve for immediate use, were now *cachéd*, and the men started forward on foot in several small parties. Hunt's division reached the Grand Ronde valley by January 1, 1812, whence it made its way successfully to the Columbia and arrived at Astoria on the 15th of February. A few members of the main party were

already at the fort, others straggled in later. In spite of the hardships suffered on the way, the actual loss of life was slight.

While this overland party was forcing its passage across the mountains, Astor sent out from New York the ship *Beaver*, in October, 1811, with a cargo similar to that carried to the Columbia by the *Tonquin*. The vessel reached Astoria without mishap, on the 10th of May, 1812, its coming giving a sense of security and permanence to the little colony in that far wilderness.

Trade with the Indians of the vicinity had been opened almost at the moment of the *Tonquin's* arrival on the Columbia. In May of the same year, a small party of Astorians ascended the river as far as the Cascades, entering on the way the mouth of the Cowlitz, and visiting other inlets where the presence of Indian villages attracted the traders. In all cases, the natives received such impressions as promised well for the future commercial intercourse between them and the whites. This first expedition into the interior was headed by Alexander Mackay, who, as the friend and companion of the English trader Mackenzie, of the Northwest Company, had become familiar with the natives of the Pacific Northwest in the journey of 1793. Mackay's loss, by the *Tonquin* disaster, was severely felt at Astoria.

A second party, under the leadership of David Stuart, was ready to ascend the river further inland on the 15th of July, 1811. This expedition was planned, notwithstanding the colony at the time could ill afford to spare a single man, because two strange Indians had come to Astoria from the upper Columbia, bearing a letter from one Northwest Company trader to another. The Indians gave a favorable report of the inland country, but said that a rival establishment already existed on a river called the Spokane. On the day that Stuart's party was to set out, a large canoe, displaying the British flag, drew into the cove at Astoria and landed David Thompson, the geographer of the Northwest Company. He informed the Astorians that he had crossed the mountains



The fort at Astoria as it appeared in 1813. *From a woodcut in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

the preceding season, and expected to descend the river, but, through the desertion of some of his men, had been compelled to winter on the upper waters of the Columbia. Thompson was an indefatigable explorer, and had made a number of expeditions through the mountains during the preceding three years, discovering new routes from the headwaters of Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers to the Columbia. As early as September, 1809, he established a trading post on Pend d'Oreille Lake, where Clark's Fork of the Columbia enters it, and in November built a second post higher up Clark's Fork, in the Flathead country. There he had spent the winter of 1809–1810. Both these stations were below latitude forty-nine degrees, that of the present boundary between the United States and British Columbia. A third post had already been established, apparently during the winter of 1808–1809, on Kootenai River. Indeed, Thompson had crossed the Howse Pass from the Saskatchewan as early as the summer of 1807, reaching a tributary of the Columbia on June 22d. Dr. Coues, who examined his manuscript journals, quotes him as writing on this occasion: "May God in his mercy give me to see where its waters flow into the ocean and return in safety."

When Thompson arrived at Astoria, the Americans had no doubt that he had come down for the purpose of planting a post of the Northwest Company on or near the site of their establishment; and it seems probable enough that the geographer had been sent out the preceding summer with that object in view.

Stuart and his men delayed their departure till July 23d, and then set out for the upper part of the river, accompanied by the Thompson party. At the Cascades, Thompson's men went on in advance of the Astorians; and the Americans, on reaching the forks of the Columbia, after much difficulty with the Indians at the Long Narrows and at the junction of Columbia and Walla Walla Rivers, found a British flag waving from the top of a pole. About the flagstaff, strongly tied, was a sheet of paper, containing this

proclamation: "Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of its Territories, & that the N. W. Company of Merchants from Canada, finding the Factory for this People inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to erect a Factory in this Place for the Commerce of the Country around. D. Thompson . . ." The proclamation was written on July 9th, and had been placed there by Thompson on his way down the river; not, as Stuart's men supposed, on the return just in advance of their party.

But the Americans, refusing to be stopped by this notice, or by the evident desire of the Indians to keep them below the Forks, proceeded up the north branch of the Columbia, and at a place where this river is joined by the Okanogan, in about latitude forty-eight degrees, Stuart decided to build a post and remain for a winter's trade. The first building of this American inland station was made of driftwood, sixteen by twenty feet, and only partly finished during this year. Four of Stuart's eight men were then sent back to Astoria, while he with three others explored the country to the head of the Okanogan, and crossed the divide to Thompson's branch of River Fraser, leaving one of the clerks, Alexander Ross, in charge of the post. Returning in the following March, Stuart found that Ross had collected "1550 beavers, besides other peltries worth in the Canton market 2250£. sterling, and which on an average stood the concern in but 5½d. apiece—or in round numbers 35£. sterling, a specimen," says Ross, "of our trade among the Indians." The number of beaver skins was increased before April 29th to two thousand five hundred.

The only additional exploiting venture of any consequence undertaken in the winter of 1811–1812 was a trip some distance up the Willamette by Robert Stuart, nephew of David Stuart. In March, Robert Stuart was sent north with supplies for his uncle's post on the Okanogan. This same month a small party under John Reed was started overland with dispatches for Astor, but an affray with the Indians at the Dalles, in which Reed was wounded and

his box of papers stolen, put an end to the venture. The party returned to Astoria after visiting Okanogan, in company with David Stuart and M'Lellan of that post, on the 11th of May, 1812, one day after the *Beaver* anchored in the Columbia before Astoria with supplies and a reinforcement for the colony.

Encouraged by the arrival of the supply ship and by the reports from the up-river traders, the resident partners resolved to prepare for more extended trading operations during the following winter. Accordingly, with as little delay as possible, four parties were fitted out. David Stuart headed the first, with goods and supplies for Okanogan, and for a new fort to be established by him in the rich beaver country he had found northward of the post. A second party, under Donald M'Kenzie, was to ascend Snake River, spend the winter in trade, and secure a quantity of goods *cachéd* by Hunt in that region as he passed through to the Pacific. John Clark, a new partner, who had arrived on the *Beaver*, was to establish a post on the Spokane, and also to oppose the "Northwesters" in the Flathead and Kootenai country. The fourth company, under Robert Stuart, was destined for the United States, to carry dispatches to Astor.

The four parties set out at the same time, their total strength amounting to sixty-two men, and together they ascended the Columbia as far as the Walla Walla. At that point, Stuart purchased horses from the Indians and set off for the east. Near the crest of the Rockies his party became totally bewildered and wandered about aimlessly for a time in the vicinity of South Pass, which, however, it did not see. Later the party went into a winter camp on the Platte. Finally it reached St. Louis, April 30, 1813.

The fortunes of the other parties varied. David Stuart arrived at Okanogan in August and found that Ross had already made a successful trading trip to Thompson's River. Stuart immediately repaired to the same region, where he built a post and spent the winter. He was opposed by the Northwest Company, who had a fort almost beside his post.

Nevertheless, the Americans were successful and traded far up the streams, returning to Okanogan in May with a fine lot of beaver, and enthusiastic over trade prospects in the north.

When Clark reached the junction of Cœur d'Alêne and Spokane Rivers, he found there an establishment of the Northwest Company under one of David Thompson's clerks named M'Millan. Here Clark built Spokane House, as a centre for the trade in this region among the Flatheads and the Kootenais, to both of which nations he immediately sent clerks to compete with the British traders already among those Indians. Because of its prospective importance, the post at Spokane was made more pretentious than any of the other inland establishments. It contained a good dwelling house for the superintendent, another for the men, and a large storehouse; the whole being protected by the regulation stockade, with bastions at two angles. The two sub-stations, among the Flatheads and Kootenais, were temporary log shanties; but the traders at each secured large quantities of furs, with which they arrived at Spokane House in May.

The fourth expedition under M'Kenzie passed up Snake River, intending, should indications prove favorable, to locate among the Nez Percés. M'Kenzie, not being pleased with the outlook at his first stopping point, decided to advance still higher up the river, but before doing so visited Clark at Spokane. There he found J. G. M'Tavish, a partner of the Northwest Company, just arrived from the East, with news of the war between the United States and Great Britain. Clark, who was a native American, carried out his winter's programme, undisturbed by this news, but M'Kenzie hurried back to the Snake, *cachéd* his goods, and returned immediately to Astoria, arriving on the 15th of January, 1813.

In the meantime, since the departure of the four companies to the interior, changes had taken place at the Pacific coast centre. It will be recalled that the *Beaver* was in port

when the parties set out. Captain Sowles, her captain, had instructions from Astor to stop at the Columbia long enough only to discharge the supplies for that post and then to sail direct to Sitka, exchange the bulk of his cargo with the Russians for furs, and afterward return to Astoria for the furs collected at that point. This much accomplished, he was to trade along the coast to complete his cargo, and carry the whole to Canton before the close of the season.

The *Beaver* cleared the bar on the 4th of August, 1812, having been delayed for more than a month by contrary winds, and made for Sitka. Hunt, who accompanied the expedition for the express purpose of opening the Russian trade, succeeded in making advantageous arrangements with Baranoff; but time was lost here again, and it was the 4th of October when the *Beaver* weighed anchor for a run to the coast of Kamtchatka. Thence she went to the island of St. Paul to trade for seal skins, eighty thousand of which were secured. Storms, meantime, caused further delay and also damaged the ship to a considerable extent, so that when, about the middle of November, the *Beaver* was ready to leave northern waters, it was deemed prudent not to risk crossing the Columbia's bar, but to go direct to Hawaii, where repairs could be made. Then, with the least possible loss of time, the ship could sail to Canton with the valuable cargo already stored in her hold.

This resolution, while doubtless justified by business considerations, was most unfortunate in its results, for it kept Hunt away from Astoria at a time when his presence might have had a most marked influence upon the future of the Pacific Fur Company. M'Dougal, the second partner, was in charge of Astoria during the absence of Hunt, and to him M'Kenzie, upon his arrival from the interior in January, reported the war news gathered from M'Tavish. Then M'Kenzie and M'Dougal decided, in consultation with the clerks, that the situation had become untenable, that owing to the war Astor could not send another supply ship; that the *Beaver* was doubtless lost;

and that, in all probability, a British vessel would appear at Astoria in the spring to take the fort and the country, as M'Tavish had told Clark and M'Kenzie would be the case. The Astoria partners, therefore, resolved to abandon the establishment, in the spring or the early summer, and taking such furs as they could transport, return overland to the East.

At the end of March, M'Kenzie ascended the river to inform Clark and Stuart of the resolution taken, and soon afterward M'Tavish arrived at the mouth of the river to await the coming of the British ship *Isaac Todd*. About the 1st of June all the partners came in, from the Willamette, the Okanogan, and the Spokane, and it was found that a difference of opinion existed about what it was best to do. Stuart and Clark insisted on remaining in the country until the following spring, and for the time being carried their point; both going back to their respective posts prepared, as well as circumstances would allow, for another season's trade.

The long and anxious summer wore on to the 4th of August; on that day the Astorians were surprised by the return of Hunt, after an absence of exactly one year. The *Beaver* had set him off at the Hawaiian Islands, where he was to await her return from Canton; but learning from the captain of an American ship, the *Albatross*, that war had actually broken out, Hunt chartered that vessel and ran to the Columbia, hoping to be able to take away the company's goods to Hawaii for safety. He was greatly chagrined at the decision reached by the partners, but was unable to change it. Hunt stayed but a few days, going in the *Albatross* to the Marquesas where he hoped to find an American ship to take off Astor's property, the vessel he had come in not being available for that purpose. He was unsuccessful, and after a long wait took an opportunity of getting back to Hawaii. While there he learned that an American vessel had been wrecked on one of the islands. The ship proved to be the *Lark*, which Astor had dispatched,

in spite of the war, to carry supplies to the Columbia. She had sailed from New York on the 6th of March, 1813, avoided capture, and was nearing the Hawaiian Islands when she encountered a gale which almost sent her and all on board to the bottom of the sea. Part of the crew was lost, but the survivors, by dint of extraordinary exertions, managed to keep the vessel afloat until she could be beached on the island. Hunt now purchased a brig called the *Pedlar*, and placing the *Lark's* captain in charge of the vessel, ran to the Columbia. He arrived on the 28th of February, 1814, but found the Union Jack floating over what had once been the fort of Astoria.

To account for this dramatic change in the situation we must go back to the preceding summer, when the partners, before separating on the 5th of July, empowered M'Dougal to sell the goods and furs to M'Tavish for the Northwest Company, should this at any time appear the best way to avoid loss. When Hunt arrived on his flying visit, in August, 1813, he acquiesced, we are told, in this resolution. M'Tavish appears to have gone up the river early in the summer, and when he returned, in September, he had with him a fleet of boats loaded with furs from the Northwest Company's posts above, and about seventy-five men. He was surprised that no British ship had as yet come in, but showed great faith that one ultimately would appear. M'Tavish was so successful in impressing M'Dougal and M'Kenzie with the hopelessness of their condition, that on the 16th of October a contract was executed by which the Astorians turned over to the Northwest Company all the property at Astoria and the interior stations for the equivalent of about $42,000.

One additional incident and the story of Astoria is finished. "On the morning of the 30th [November]," says Franchère, "we saw a large vessel standing in under Cape Disappointment;—she was the British sloop-of-war, *Raccoon*, of twenty-six guns, commanded by Captain Black, with a complement of 120 men, fore and aft." She had been

detached from the British Pacific squadron for the purpose of destroying the fort on the Columbia, represented by the "Northwesters" as a formidable establishment. The captain was intensely chagrined when he learned that Astoria was not a fort in the military sense, but a mere trading post, which he declared could be battered down "in two hours with a four-pounder." Moreover, upon his arrival, the property was already in the hands of British subjects. However, the captain took formal possession of the place December 12th (or 13th), rechristening it Fort George, and on the 31st made sail from the river.

From the American point of view the loss of Astoria must always be regarded as a disaster, the historical significance of which it is not difficult to point out. We are told by Irving that Astor had consciously in mind to plant "a colony that would form the germ of a wide civilization; that would, in fact, carry the American population across the Rocky Mountains and spread it along the shores of the Pacific, as it already animated the shores of the Atlantic." The suspicion that this was partly an afterthought to the great merchant, whose aims were primarily commercial, makes little difference; the result would have been the same. Astoria would have formed the nucleus of an expanding American interest in the Northwest, which ultimately must have led to the effectual settlement of the country.

Had the American Fur Company succeeded in gaining a firm hold upon the Columbia basin, and along the coast north of the river, to the parallel of forty-nine degrees or beyond, there can be little doubt that this line would have been taken as the boundary between the British and American possessions west of the Rockies at the same time that it was adopted for the territories lying east of the mountains. The "Oregon Question" would, therefore, have been practically eliminated from history.

This is the one great advantage that in all likelihood would have accrued from the continuous activity of the American Fur Company in that region, and it justifies the regret with

which Americans look upon the events of 1813 at the mouth of the Columbia. The question has often been debated whether or not, with reasonable exertion, foresight, or fidelity to duty on the part of those most intimately connected with the enterprise, the calamity could have been averted. This can, of course, not be answered with certainty; but it would seem that it could have been. Had Astor, on the breaking out of the war, seen fit to send a party overland with instructions to the partners to hold out at any cost until men and supplies could be forwarded from the east coast, there is reason to believe that he would not have been sold out as he was. If Astor erred, it was in confiding too much to ships and the sea, and too little to the possibilities of the overland route, a not unnatural mistake under the circumstances. By risking the *Lark* for a passage in 1813, with a cargo of supplies, he showed at least a willingness to make sacrifices for the little colony.

On the other hand, had the resident partners been men of a larger faith and nobler patriotism, they would undoubtedly have found means to avoid giving up the property of the company, whether the fort was doomed to capture or not. It has been suggested that they might easily have transferred the goods to a place of safety, up one of the smaller streams, even after a warship had made her appearance below the fort. Afterward, they could have returned, rebuilt Astoria,—which would doubtless have been burned, —and continued the trade as before, until the war closed or a chance offered to leave the country without serious financial loss. Astoria fell, apparently not for want of men, but for want of men of the right spirit.

CHAPTER V

THE EXCLUSION OF SPAIN FROM THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA

It has been seen that before the close of the year 1776, Spain had colonized northward as far as San Francisco Bay, and her navigators had examined the coast to about latitude sixty degrees. No other Europeans except the Russians had, prior to this, taken any serious interest in North Pacific discoveries, and their operations were confined to the Alaskan region. With some show of reason, therefore, Spain considered that she had now vindicated her right to the exclusive sovereignty of the Pacific coast of North America to the region of the Russian claim.

But Spanish claims to these shores, like those she had asserted over the Atlantic coast two centuries before, were too insecure to withstand the attacks of a vigorous opponent. No principle of international law could award perpetual sovereignty over twenty degrees of coast line, to the nation first making general explorations along its course. In order effectually to keep out rivals it would have been necessary for Spain to take actual possession, at strategic points. This she failed to do; nor did her navigators make such careful surveys of the coast as would have enabled her to select strategic points, had she been able to fortify them. Indeed, many portions of the coast had been so imperfectly mapped as to leave to other nations abundant opportunity to establish claims by undertaking more complete and thorough surveys. This is what the United States did on

the basis of Gray's fortunate discovery of the Columbia, whose existence had been left in the realm of conjecture by the Spaniards; and this is what the British government did after 1776. When, therefore, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the North Pacific coast became an object of permanent commercial value on account of the fur trade, it became evident that the exclusive claims of Spain would be disregarded or contested whenever it should become the interest of a powerful nation to do so. That time came in 1790, and the aggressive nation was Great Britain.

When Cook's vessels returned from the American coast with the report that a rich fur trade awaited development in that quarter, the first Englishmen to respond to the news were those living in China, where the furs collected were sold. Many of these British merchants were established for trade near the Portuguese port of Macao, on the coast of China. At this time commerce with the Pacific was restricted by British law to two corporations, the East India Company, operating by way of Good Hope, and the South Sea Company, having its route by way of Cape Horn, and any Englishman found trading in Pacific waters except under the protection of one or the other of these companies, was liable to confiscation of ship and goods, as well as other punishment. It was, therefore, a matter of policy for independent British traders to sail under a flag other than their own; and for this reason the Portuguese port of Macao was a favorite point of departure.

A ship sailed from this place in 1785 under Portuguese colors, but with an Englishman, James Hanna, in charge. It was the first trading vessel to exploit the fields described by Cook, and it reaped a rich harvest. From that time the North Pacific trade was a feature of world commerce, and Nootka Sound, because of its central location and favorable surroundings, became a meeting point for the ships of all nations.

Among those who made the voyage was Captain John Meares in 1786. He was a British naval officer on half-pay,



John Jacob Astor.

From the painting in possession of Mrs. Astor, New York.

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who bears a very close relation to the international difficulties arising between Great Britain and Spain over Nootka Sound affairs a few years later.

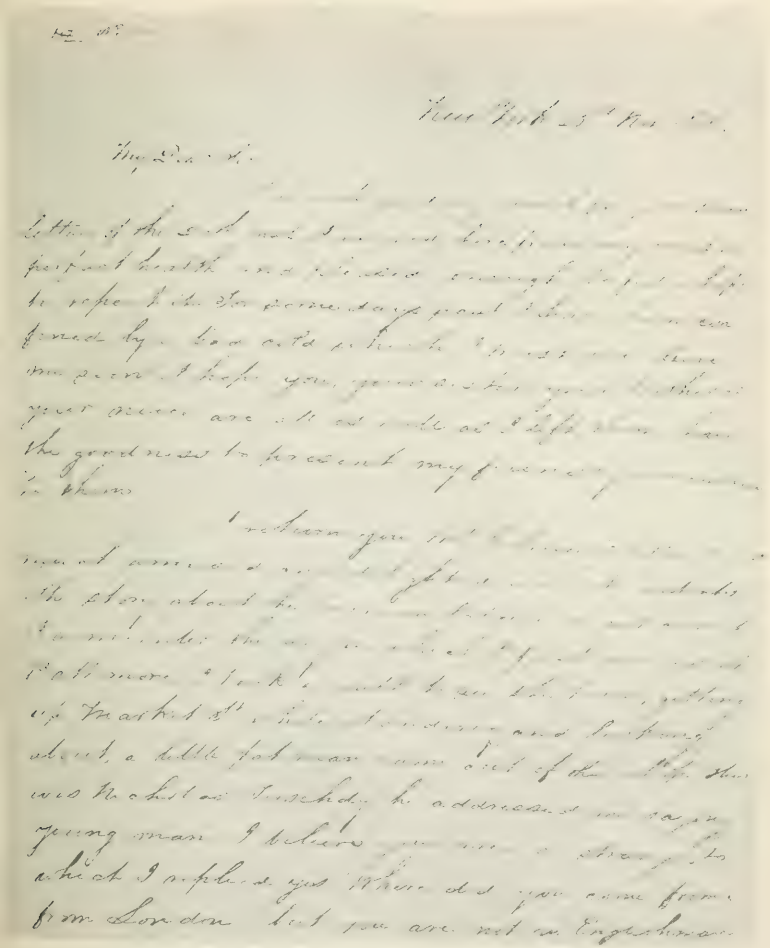
Meares's first voyage to the North Pacific was made under the auspices of the East India Company, in 1786–1787. After this trip he arranged at Macao for two vessels, the *Felice* and *Iphigenia*. He took personal charge of the former and set sail in January, 1788, for Nootka Sound. The other ship was commanded by Captain William Douglas, also an Englishman, and sailed at the same time to the coast of Alaska, expecting to trade south to Nootka during the summer. Ostensibly both vessels were owned by Juan Cawalho, or Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of China; the papers carried by the two captains were written in Portuguese, and both ships bore the flag of Portugal. Meares says, however, in his account of his voyage, that the ships had been purchased by him, "in conjunction with several British merchants resident in India," and this probably was true. He explains in his *Memorial*, that the name of Cawalho was secured to their firm, "though he had no actual concern in their stock," because of his influence with the governor of Macao, who, through this partner, was prevailed on to allow the use of the Portuguese flag. By sailing under foreign colors the Englishmen were enabled "to evade the excessive high port charges demanded by the Chinese from all other European nations, excepting the Portuguese. . . ." Their instructions required the captains to be on guard against all Russian, Spanish, and British vessels, and if attacked by one of them to endeavor to capture the ship and take her captive to China.

The object of Meares and his associates was to establish a regular and extensive trade with the natives of the Northwest coast. In pursuance of this object, explorations were to be made both north and south of Nootka, to discover the various tribes having furs to sell, and to establish posts at eligible points. This is not stated in his instructions of December 24, 1787, though it is in his journal, and it

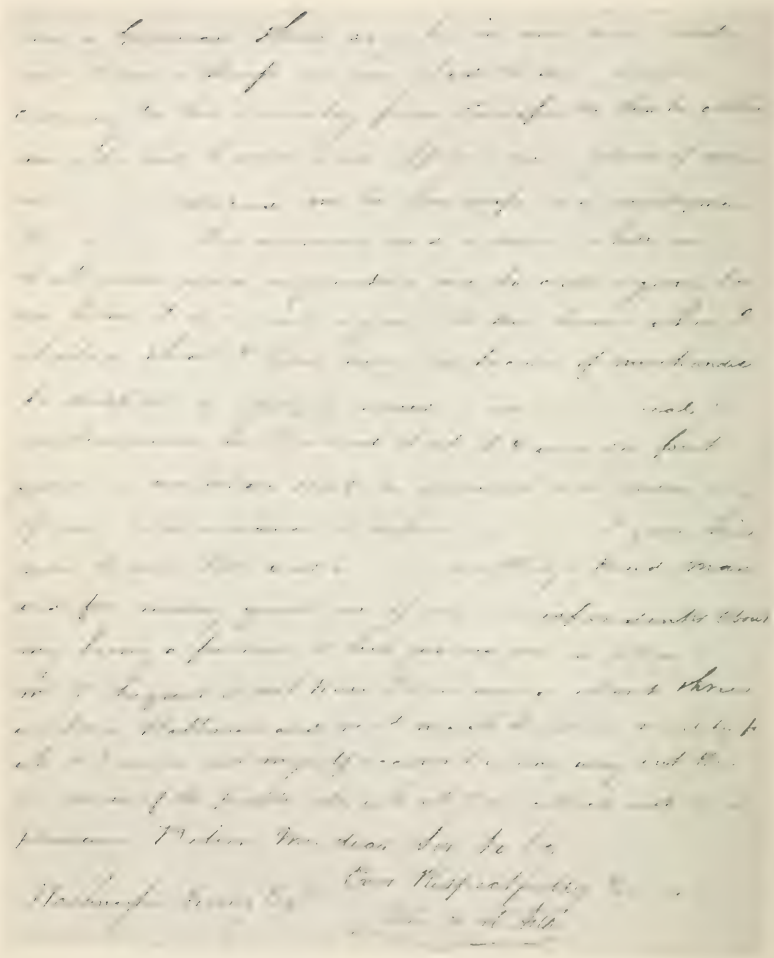
may be inferred from the equipment carried and the comparative permanence of the trade contemplated, as set forth in Meares's instructions to Douglas, September 20, 1788.

Meares sailed from Macao on the 20th of January and anchored in Friendly Cove, harbor of Nootka, May 13th. He at once established amicable relations with Maquinna, chief of the tribe of Indians living on the Sound, and secured from him a piece of ground on which to erect a house for the men he expected to leave there. The structure erected was large enough not only to shelter the party, but to provide a place for them to work in during bad weather, for stores, for an armorer's shop, etc. It was two stories high, and surrounded by "a breastwork . . . with one piece of cannon," which "formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion."

Work was at once begun on a small vessel, the materials for which had been carried in the *Felice*, and when building operations were well under way Meares sailed south to Clayoquot, where he spent two weeks in trade. From there, still keeping southward, on the 29th of June he sighted the Strait of Fuca, already discovered by Barclay, another British navigator, in 1787, and later caused a partial exploration of the inlet to be made by Duffin. In latitude forty-six degrees ten minutes Meares discovered the Cape San Roque of Heceta, but saw nothing of the river, whose non-existence he thought that he could now "safely assert." This was on the 6th of July, 1788. From Cape San Roque he ran somewhat further south, to about forty-five degrees thirty minutes, and then returned to the Sound. Douglas, with the *Iphigenia*, joined him on the 27th of August, and on the 19th or 20th of September was performed the ceremony of launching the little ship built during the summer. She was christened the *North West America*, and is undoubtedly the first sea-going vessel constructed on the Northwest coast. Meares then sailed for China with the furs he had thus far collected, and at the end of October the *Iphigenia* and the *North West America* departed for Hawaii. They



Letter to Washington Irving, dated November 25, 1836, from John Jacob Astor, relative to his early life. *From the original in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*



I do think I was on the 24th or 25th March 24
not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] ship N Carolina in which
I came passenger [illegible] then been more
than four months on board. Of course I was
desirous to get on shore as soon as I could.
which I did [illegible] sent by land.


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left at Nootka two American vessels, the *Lady Washington* and the *Columbia*, which had come in during the month of September.

When Meares reached Macao he sold the cargo and then became interested in reorganizing his company. A London house, the Messrs. Etches, had sent out, in 1788, two ships, the *Princess Royal* and the *Prince of Wales*, under licenses issued by the East India and South Sea companies. These vessels reached China from the Northwest coast about the time of Meares's return from America. With a view to consolidating the trade as far as possible an association was then formed which included the Londoners, and the merchant adventurers represented by Meares, under the firm name of "Etches, Cox & Co." The ships to be employed in the trade were the *Princess Royal* and a new vessel named the *Argonaut*. They were dispatched to the Northwest coast in the spring of 1789, the former under Captain T. Hudson, the latter under James Colnett.

The instructions sent with this expedition called for the building of a factory on the coast of America, which was to be "a solid establishment, and not one to be abandoned at pleasure." It was to be fixed at the most convenient point, though no specific place is designated, and to be fully protected. Its objects were "to draw the Indians to it, to lay up the smaller vessels in the winter season, to build, and for other commercial purposes." Other trading houses were to be established as the increase of commerce should warrant. In the organization and plans of this British company was evident a serious threat to the interests of Spain in the North Pacific, but Spain was not unmindful of the course of events and was taking measures to protect her commerce and what she considered her property.

We dropped the history of Spanish explorations with the expedition of Heceta, sent north from Mexico in 1775. Immediately on its return a new expedition was planned, which did not, however, get under way until 1779. In February of that year two vessels, under the command

of Arteaga and Cuadra, left San Blas with orders to sail to latitude seventy degrees. Without being conscious of the fact, these navigators followed almost exactly in the course of Captain Cook until they had attained a latitude of about sixty degrees, but at this point they turned southward and made sail for Mexico.

This was the last northern expedition undertaken by the Spaniards prior to the year 1788. But in March of that year two ships fitted out for this service sailed from San Blas under command of Martinez and Haro. They found the Russians already established on Prince William Sound, and apparently disposed to take possession of favorable points to the southward. The Spanish commanders recognized the importance of occupying Nootka Sound, the natural centre of the fur trade in the region not yet occupied by Russia, and returned to Mexico to report their observations to their government.

The Mexican government sent the fleet back to the North Pacific in 1789. The two ships separated on the voyage, Haro reaching Nootka with the *San Carlos* a week later than Martinez, who was in command of the expedition. As Martinez, in the *Princesa*, drew near the Sound he spoke the *Lady Washington*, which was passing out for a northern cruise under Captain Gray. On entering Friendly Cove he found there the British ship *Iphigenia*, Captain Douglas. The American ship *Columbia*, Captain Kendrick, was anchored in another part of the Sound.

For a few days the Spaniard maintained the most friendly relations with Captain Douglas, promising to relieve his necessities, which were very pressing, and exchanging social visits with him. Then, on the 14th of May, Martinez took possession of the *Iphigenia*. Two weeks later she was restored to Douglas, refitted and supplied. Such are the bare facts of the episode.

The contemporary evidence concerning the matter is incomplete, especially on the Spanish side. Douglas says that Martinez at first justified the seizure on the ground

that he had received instructions from the Spanish king to seize all foreign vessels found on the coast of America. When Douglas protested that his ship had entered the Sound in distress and claimed the treatment due from ships of all civilized nations under such circumstances, he was told that the ship had been seized because the Spanish had discovered that Douglas's papers required him to make prizes of Russian, Spanish, and British ships of inferior strength. Douglas assured him that the papers had been misinterpreted, that they merely instructed him to guard against ships of these nations, and to capture them if they attacked him. When at a later time the interpreter went over the papers again and assured Martinez that this was the correct rendering, the commander offered to release the ship, provided Douglas would sign a statement that no detention had been suffered and that the Spanish officer had relieved the needs of the *Iphigenia*. This Douglas finally consented to do, though under protest, and because his men importuned him to settle the matter. He also claimed that while in Spanish hands the *Iphigenia* was robbed of everything valuable in her cargo, and that the supplies furnished her were meagre in amount and exorbitant in price.

Three years after the events narrated above, Captain Gray and Mr. Ingraham, of the Boston ships, gave their recollections of this and other episodes connected with the Nootka Sound controversy. These men declared that the seizure was due to a misunderstanding of the clause in Douglas's papers about the capture of Russian, British, and Spanish vessels. They said, too, that the officers and men of the *Iphigenia* were "treated with all imaginable kindness, and every attention paid them. . . . The *Iphigenia*, while in Spanish hands, from being a wreck, was put in complete order for the sea, being calked, rigging, and sails repaired, anchors, and cables sent from the *Princesa*, etc. . . . Don Martinez supplied them with every kind of provisions they were in need of, for which Captain Douglas gave him bills on Cravalia [Cawalho]. . . .

Upon the whole, we both believe the *Iphigenia's* being detained of infinite service to those concerned in her."

The Spanish version of the affair is that Martinez at first meant simply to warn the *Iphigenia* away, but that on account of the character of the ship's papers, he decided to seize her. But not having enough men to take charge of the vessel he was obliged to release her.

Probably the character of the papers had much to do with the seizure. But it is not at all inconceivable that Martinez was encouraged by the Americans, who hoped thus to rid themselves of what promised to be formidable opposition in the Northwest trade. Captain Douglas indeed suspected that Kendrick had instigated the seizure, which took place immediately after the return of Martinez from a visit to him. Certain it is that the Spaniards offered not the slightest protest against the presence of the American ships, and the commanders of those two nations remained on the most cordial terms. There is yet more evidence of an understanding between the Americans and the Spaniards. When the other British ship, the *North West America*, arrived at Nootka, Martinez asserted that Douglas had given him an order addressed to Captain Funter, who was in charge of her, to turn over the vessel to the Spanish on her arrival at the Sound. No such order was given, and there is not even good reason to suppose that the Spaniard was deceived into supposing that a letter, handed him by Douglas on the latter's departure, contained the order demanded. Nevertheless, the vessel was placed in charge of Mr. Coolidge, mate of the *Lady Washington*, and sent off north to trade. Martinez at first professed to hold himself ready to pay for the vessel, under the supposititious agreement with Douglas. Then came the news that Cawalho, the nominal owner of the trading fleet, had become bankrupt, and thereupon the Spaniard announced his determination to hold the *North West America* in payment of the bills for supplying the *Iphigenia*.

In the spring of 1789 the British company, organized by Meares at Macao, sent the *Argonaut*, Captain Colnett,



Launch of the *North West America* at Nootka Sound, being the first vessel built in that section of the globe. *From the engraving by R. Pollard after the drawing by C. Metz, in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

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and the *Princess Royal*, Captain Hudson, to the Northwest coast. The *Princess Royal* reached the Sound first, was kindly received by the Spaniards, who had by this time fortified the place, and allowed to sail out without molestation on the 2d of July. Next day the *Argonaut* came in, and was permitted to anchor in Friendly Cove. On the 4th, when Colnett prepared to depart, his papers were called for and he was told he could not sail that day. A quarrel ensued, in the course of which the irate Englishman undoubtedly used strong language, but just what passed is not known. Martinez told Duffin, one of the British officers, that Colnett had threatened to plant a fort opposite the one the Spaniards had built on Hog Island, and to take possession in the name of his sovereign. Possibly Martinez misunderstood Colnett's language, which may have referred to the proposed erection of a fort at some other point on the coast. However, the British captain was arrested, his vessel seized, and the crew placed under guard. On the 14th the *Princess Royal* returned to the Sound and was taken in like manner. Both vessels were sent to Mexico, whither their British officers and crews were also carried to await the action of the government with reference to the validity of their capture. The final decision was that Martinez had not exceeded his instructions in making the seizures; but in the professed desire to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain the Spanish government ordered that the prisoners be released and the vessels restored to their owners.

The secret history of the discussion which led to this conclusion never has been revealed fully, but we are in possession of facts enough to determine the principles on which it was conducted. Spain took the ground that her sovereignty over that portion of the American coast was unquestioned, being based on discovery, exploration and treaty. Therefore the act of certain British subjects, in presuming to trade on the North Pacific, was a violation of Spanish rights. She requested that the British government take measures to prevent the commission of similar wrongs

in the future. This was the substance of the note by which the Spanish government, in February, 1790, notified the court of London that British vessels had been seized at Nootka.

A short time prior to this the Spanish government had addressed a somewhat similar complaint to the Empress Catherine, respecting the Russian operations south of sixty degrees, and had received what was deemed a satisfactory reply. But Great Britain, under the leadership of the younger Pitt, had no mind to concede the question of exclusive sovereignty, nor would she lightly abandon the cause of subjects who had carried the flag, in the way of commerce, to the west coast of America. Moreover, at that time the British ministry had designs upon the territories of West Florida and Louisiana, and a war with Spain might have furnished the opportunity to secure these territories. If Great Britain at this time could have secured Louisiana, and likewise have asserted her right to independent action on the Northwest coast, she might have hoped to control the western half of the North American continent and thus have recouped herself for the loss of the American colonies.

The ministry therefore took high grounds in their reply to the Spanish note, demanding as a condition of negotiation, that "full and adequate satisfaction" be offered for the injury to British subjects, and intimating that Great Britain could not concede to Spain the point of exclusive sovereignty. Preparations for war were at once begun.

The King of Spain issued a declaration to the European powers, called on France to come to his support according to the terms of the Family Compact of 1761, and complained to Great Britain that the "harsh and Laconic style" of her answer suggested that she was willing to use the incident as a pretext for going to war.

In the later conference, carried on at Madrid, the British representative demanded as a condition of negotiation three preliminary acts on the part of the Spanish court. These were: "The restitution of the vessels, a full indemnification

for the losses sustained by the parties injured, and, finally, satisfaction to the sovereign for the insult offered to his flag." He suggested that if the King of Spain would issue a declaration of his intention to make reparation as above indicated, such declaration would be accepted by the court of London as a basis for immediate negotiation. This mode of procedure was adopted, the Spanish Declaration and the British Counter Declaration being exchanged at Madrid July 24, 1790.

Great Britain by this time had become more willing to settle the matter without war; for she had ascertained that the United States would oppose her project of getting control of New Orleans. In August, too, the French National Convention, acting on the question of aid to Spain, indicated plainly that France would not take a position of neutrality in the prospective war, although no formal alliance with Spain was recognized. Under these influences, and probably others, the discussion was carried promptly forward, and on the 29th of October the "Nootka Convention" was signed.

The significant article in this treaty is the third, in which Spain and Great Britain declare: "That their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there." In a word, Spain by this treaty gave up once for all her claim to exclusive sovereignty over the North Pacific. The "places not already occupied" were generally understood to be all portions of the coast north of the settled parts of California.

Article I provided for the restoration of the "buildings and tracts of land" at Nootka to the persons dispossessed in 1789. This had reference to the claim of Meares that he had bought land of the chief Maquinna and had erected a substantial house upon it. The evidence is clear that this

structure was intended for temporary purposes, although Meares may have had a plan to build a permanent station at Nootka. When the commissioners of the two powers met at the Sound to carry this article into effect no house or other building could be found, and so there was nothing to restore. Finally a convention was adopted at Madrid, January 11, 1794, by which both Great Britain and Spain agreed to retire from Nootka Sound.

In the history of the growth of American interests on the Pacific, the result of the Nootka Sound controversy possesses great significance. Contending for her own rights, Great Britain practically secured the opening of the North Pacific to all nations. Just at this time the great European wars began, practically withdrawing British influence from the region for nearly twenty years. Spain was already becoming convinced that the North Pacific fur trade was not worth the expense of its protection, and that her true policy was to strengthen and perhaps extend the California settlements. Her retirement from Nootka Sound was, in fact, the signal for a permanent abandonment of the Northwest coast, on which, a quarter of a century later, the United States succeeded to all her reserved rights. So Spain's sovereignty over the North Pacific was surrendered, but in other parts of the North American continent she was yet in control. She held Florida, California, and Mexico, with all that was included in that term of what is now part of the United States.

When the question of getting possession of New Orleans was agitating the minds of the American people in 1802–1803, the region known as West Florida was also a matter of concern to them; for the pioneers of the Southwest were already beginning to settle on Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers, and an outlet by way of Mobile was becoming a necessity. With the overthrow of the Indian power, and the demand for good cotton land, an immense immigration to this region took place, resulting in the rapid upbuilding of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. At a

somewhat earlier period, many Americans had settled among the creoles of West Florida and gained influence with them.

The purchase of Louisiana was at first supposed to secure West Florida also to the United States. But the French and Spanish governments denied that it was a part of that cession, and therefore negotiations were begun by Jefferson's administration in the hope of securing it. Spain was reluctant to sell, and France encouraged her in this attitude, so that nothing could be done. Thus the matter dragged on till 1810, when, owing to the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy in the interest of Napoleon, the general disintegration of her colonial empire began, and West Florida engaged in a revolution. A convention of delegates from several of its districts on September 26, 1810, declared West Florida an independent State. Somewhat later, a request was made for admission into the Union, and the request was granted. By an Act passed in 1812, West Florida was divided, one portion being annexed to the new State of Louisiana, the other, to the Territory of Mississippi.

Soon afterward, serious troubles arose in East Florida, among the Seminole Indians, where Spanish authority was daily growing weaker, and in 1818 General Andrew Jackson invaded the territory. He took possession of Pensacola and St. Marks, on the ground that their inhabitants had given aid to the enemies of the United States. The outcome was that Spain at last concluded to sell Florida to the United States.

Since the purchase of Louisiana, the western boundaries of that territory had been the subject of constant debate, and in the "Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits," concluded on February 22, 1819, the United States and Spain settled the controversy. The treaty also included a clause which had an important bearing on the history of the American North Pacific claims. Article III declares: "The boundary line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulph of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the

western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Nachitoches, or Red River; then following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then, crossing the said Red River, and running thence by a line due north to the Arkansas; thence, following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas, to its source in latitude 42, and thence along the said parallel, to the South Sea . . . The United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above described line; and, in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories east and north of the said line, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever."

This treaty was the third step in the Spanish retrograde movement on the western coast. First Russia, by her activities in the far North, had forced Spain to abandon her theoretical claim above the latitude of sixty degrees. By the Nootka Convention, Great Britain had shattered her pretensions to exclusive sovereignty of any portion of the Northwest coast. Lastly, by a voluntary act, Spain had withdrawn from the entire region north of forty-two degrees, leaving that territory to the United States. Finally, Spain was to withdraw entirely below the latitudes which concern intimately the history of the present American possessions on the Pacific.

Until the end of the eighteenth century and even later there had been apparently no disposition among the people of Mexico to question the absolute authority of the Spanish crown, nor even to suspect that any power in themselves could be evoked to relieve them from the heavy oppressions incident to the Spanish rule. Passive obedience was a tenet of the religion which bound all souls; it was a doctrine

ingrained in the minds of the Spanish people by long centuries of absolute rule, endeared to them in a manner by the glory of their greatest kings. But events at last compelled the adoption of more modern views, and in 1810 the revolutionary movement set in both south and north of the Isthmus, a movement which ultimately severed the vast aggregation of American provinces from the Spanish crown.

The causes of discontent in Mexico were not far to seek. In the first place it was the settled policy of the government to degrade the American born Spaniards to a position below those who came to the country from Spain. Almost all of the higher offices of state, army, and church went to Spaniards, while the creoles were forced to be content with positions of inferior honor and emolument. This manifest injustice and a system of commercial monopoly which was most grievous in its effects, especially upon the lower orders of the people, and burdensome taxation produced a feeling of discontent which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was augmented by the confiscation of some benevolent funds in which many were deeply interested.

By this time, too, there was more or less independent thought among the better classes of the native Mexican population. Education, while not universal, was widespread, and opportunities for higher instruction were furnished by the university of Mexico. The strictest literary censorship was enforced; nevertheless, the reading of French books upon social subjects could not be wholly prevented. Moreover, the examples of political liberty furnished by the American Union, and the more recently organized French Republic, encouraged the Mexicans to attempt to practise the theories instilled by the French philosophers. Added to these considerations were the facts that the Spanish monarchy was now virtually overthrown by the influence of Napoleon, and that the people of Mexico were just beginning to comprehend the economic possibilities of their own country.

The revolution broke out in the little town of Dolores in 1810, and soon spread through a large part of Mexico. The leaders were a native priest, Miguel Hidalgo, who was a reader of the proscribed books of the French philosophers, and a soldier named Allende, both men of remarkable personal qualities and earnest patriotism.

After the first skirmish a body of about five thousand of the revolutionists attacked and defeated an army under the Spanish intendant Riana, and later gained some other slight successes, so that three provinces came wholly under their control. But in January, 1811, a discouraging defeat was inflicted upon the rebels, and their cause seemed so nearly lost that they attempted to escape to the United States. The fleeing forces were captured, and the leaders put to death.

A new leader arose and the revolutionary spirit was kept alive until 1817, when the authority of Spain was again absolutely asserted throughout the Mexican territories. It proved, however, a temporary return of despotism. In 1820, a new constitution was adopted in Spain, and another revolution occurred in Mexico, this time under the guidance of the leading general of the country—Iturbide. He overthrew the government of the viceroy, called a congress of delegates from the several provinces, and proclaimed the independent monarchy of Mexico in 1821.

Early in the next year, Iturbide was made emperor. The news was quickly carried to California and that province passed from its old allegiance into the hands of the new monarchy. The dominance of Spain on the Pacific coast, which had endured for more than three centuries, was at an end.





Map showing Mackenzie's track from Montreal to Fort Chipewyan, and from thence to the North Sea in 1789, and to the Pacific Ocean in 1793. *From the copperplate in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.*

CHAPTER VI

EARLY PHASES OF THE OREGON QUESTION

It will be recalled that Astor's fort on the Columbia was, in 1813, transferred by his partners to the Northwest Company, and later in the same year taken possession of for the British government. When, after the War of 1812, the United States and Great Britain concluded a treaty of peace it was stipulated that: "All territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, . . . shall be restored without delay." As soon as peace was concluded Astor indicated a wish to resume the business formerly begun. The administration thereupon declared its intention of reoccupying the Columbia, and in September, 1817, Captain Biddle, with the ship *Ontario*, was despatched to the river with instructions to "assert the claim of the United States to the adjacent country, in a friendly and peaceable manner." The British minister at Washington, Mr. Bagot, on learning of the mission of the *Ontario*, protested against it on behalf of his government. Astoria, he maintained, had not been captured during the war, but had been purchased by the Northwest Fur Company, while the territory itself "was early taken possession of in His Majesty's name, and had since been considered as forming part of His Majesty's dominions." This startling assertion marks the formal opening of the controversy between the two countries over the Oregon territory, which continued during almost a generation and war over which was barely averted.

In the correspondence upon the subject which began when the United States concluded to reoccupy Astoria, the British government finally conceded the right of the United States to occupy the old trading post pending the settlement of the question of title to the territory. An order for the restoration of the fort was accordingly issued, and on the 6th of October, 1818, Mr. J. B. Prevost, who had sailed with Biddle on the *Ontario*, received formal possession of the establishment at the hands of the British agents on the Columbia.

At this time, diplomatic representatives of the two countries were discussing a treaty to cover various questions relating to the two countries. One of these questions was in regard to the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. The British commissioners wished to settle also the boundary west of those mountains, and the Americans offered to extend the line of the forty-ninth parallel, already agreed upon as the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, through to the Pacific. This offer was declined, and while the British made no definite proposition, they suggested that a line extended west on the forty-ninth parallel to the most northeasterly branch of the Columbia, and down that river to the sea, would satisfy their government.

The American administration at this time did not see fit to insist upon exclusive rights on the Columbia. In May, 1818, an invitation to submit the question to arbitration was declined, and Mr. J. Q. Adams wrote that "the minuteness of the present interests" of both parties made our government unwilling to include the Oregon question among the objects of "serious discussion." Whether or not we could have secured the line of forty-nine degrees by insisting on a settlement of the boundary, is a question that cannot be determined; but certainly the offer of that line, when the theory of the claim of the United States gave rights as far north as fifty-one degrees, must be regarded as weakening the case of the Union. Thereafter, however vigorous the

arguments to prove that the great valley belonged to America by right of discovery, exploration, and first occupation, this line would practically limit our pretensions.

The convention of October 20, 1818, terminated the negotiations of that year. It left the Oregon question open by providing for the "joint occupation" of the territory by the citizens and subjects of both nations, for a term of ten years. This provision was not to prejudice the claims that either government might have on any part of the territory in question, nor to affect the rights of other states; but was merely agreed upon "to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves."

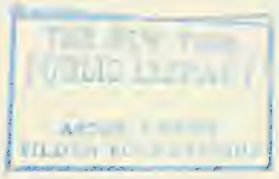
At the time when the provision was adopted, both Spain and Russia asserted rights of sovereignty over portions of the Northwest coast; but in 1819, the former of these powers transferred all her rights north of forty-two degrees to the United States. About a decade earlier, the Russian government had begun to put forth extravagant claims, stimulated by the Russian-American Fur Company, which wished to control the trade as far south on the coast as possible. It was at first asserted that the company's rights extended over the entire coast, to and beyond Columbia River, where at one time it had intended to found a colony. In 1821, when the charter of the Russian-American Company was renewed, the Czar issued a ukase, which asserted positively that the Russian claims extended southward to the fifty-first parallel.

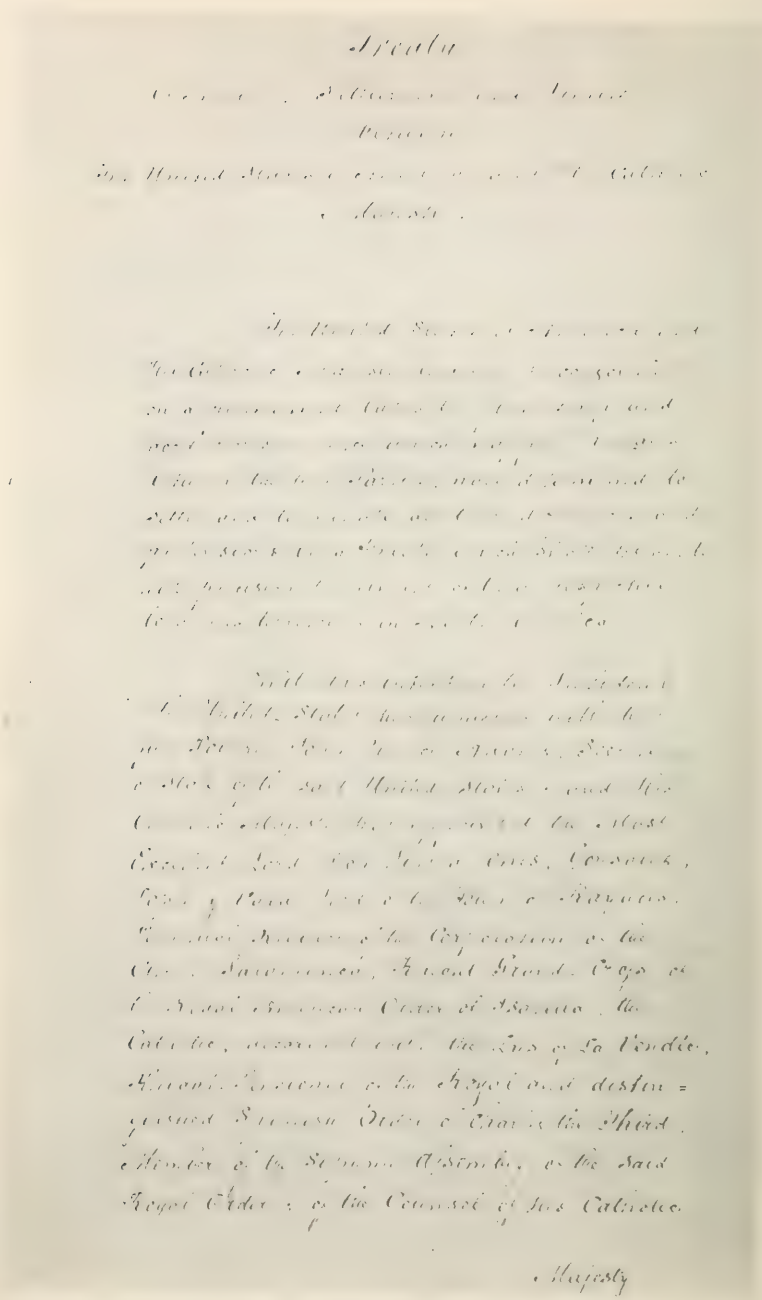
Both Great Britain and the United States took official notice of the ukase. The claim was contested by the United States in negotiations begun in 1822. It was pointed out that by the company's first charter, Russia's pretensions were limited to the region north of fifty-five degrees, while the American discovery, exploration, and occupation of the Columbia gave the United States exclusive rights over the valley of that river. Finally, a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg, April 17, 1824, in which the question was settled in favor of the United States. That

government agreed that neither itself nor any of its citizens should thereafter form any establishments upon the Pacific coast to the north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes; and Russia reciprocated by agreeing to form none south of that line. The next year a similar treaty was made between Russia and Great Britain. Henceforth the struggle in the Northwest was concerning the northern dividing line between Canada and the United States.

By the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Oregon question had come before Congress and the country at large as well as before the state department of the government. Hall J. Kelley, of Boston, apparently the first of a long series of Oregon agitators, had begun writing on the subject several years before, and may have exerted an influence on members of the national legislature. At all events, on the 20th of December, 1820, Floyd, of Virginia, moved in the House of Representatives to appoint a committee "to inquire into the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River." On the 25th of January following a report was brought in, which discussed the American rights of sovereignty on the Northwest coast. Next came a bill, introduced by Floyd, providing for the military occupation of Columbia River, the donation of lands to settlers, and the regulation of Indian affairs. No vote was reached, but a twelvemonth later a similar measure, also presented by Floyd, elicited a spirited debate which first drew the attention of the country to this question, and therefore deserves more than a passing notice.

The speech of Floyd, December 17, 1822, illustrates the optimism characteristic of the promoters of our western advance. The expansive power shown by the young republic thrilled him; the preceding seven years, since the peace with Great Britain, had inaugurated a new phase of the westward movement; an era marked by immense annual migrations, and the wholesale creation of new States. The rapid increase of population, the construction of the national



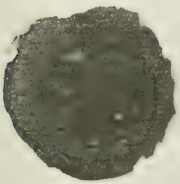


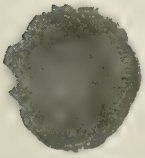
First and last pages of the treaty for the cession of Florida, dated February 22, 1819. *From the original in the Department of State, Washington.*

In Witness whereof, We the
Undersigned Plenipotentiaries of the
United States of America and of the
Oriental Republic of the Uruguay
have signed, in virtue of
our Powers, the present Treaty of Friendship
Settlement and Limits, and have thereunto
affixed our Seals respectively.

Done at Rio de Janeiro the Twenty-
seventh day of August in the Year
Eighteen hundred and Thirty-

John Quincy Adams







road, projects for canals to connect the East and the West, and, above all, the introduction of the steamboat upon the western waters, had already revolutionized men's ideas in regard to the possibilities of expansion. When Louisiana was purchased in 1803 many feared that it would be impossible to hold that region as a political unit of the United States. Even Jefferson, who deservedly ranks as the greatest promoter of our western interests, had at first small faith in the ability of the nation to assimilate this new territory. In 1790, he had declared that it would not be to "our interests to cross the Mississippi for ages," and that it would "never be to our interest to remain united with those who do." While this does not fairly represent Jefferson's feeling in 1803, it is apparent from his letters that doubts still remained in his mind after the purchase had been made. But events had proved that the entire valley of the Mississippi would remain a permanent part of the nation, and already a few were looking forward to the expansion of the country to the shores of the Pacific. Floyd showed that whereas Virginia had taken a century and a half to push its settlements one hundred and fifty miles into the interior, within forty-three years its population had spread westward more than one thousand miles. To occupy the Columbia would be "only acting promptly, upon precisely the same principle which has directed the progress of population from the time the English first landed in Virginia until they had penetrated far into the bosom of the forest."

He did not fear any political evils as a result of further expansion. Men were already looking forward joyfully to the time when settlement should extend to the Rocky Mountains; why not to the Pacific? The people who might go there could not leave the political society of the Union. They would be bound by ties of blood, language, and laws, the need of protection against northern and southern neighbors, and especially by the opening of a great avenue of communication for purposes of trade along the line of Missouri and Columbia Rivers.

But Floyd based his argument for the occupation of Oregon mainly upon the question of promoting commerce by settlement at the mouth of the Columbia. The fur trade of that river and the Missouri, the whale and seal fisheries of the western coast, the trade with China, and the agricultural possibilities of the Oregon region were all discussed, some of them at length. He laid great stress upon the opening of a trade route across the continent. By steamboat and wagon the whole distance between St. Louis and Astoria could be covered, he estimated, in forty-four days. The relative distance, under the changed conditions brought about by the use of steam, was no greater than was that between New York and Louisville thirty years before. Only two hundred miles, from the falls of the Missouri to the navigable waters of Clark's fork of the Columbia, would have to be traversed with wagons. This was a matter quite insignificant when compared with the opening of wagon communication with Santa Fé from St. Louis, an undertaking which had been successfully achieved during the preceding summer.

The other supporters of Floyd's bill all urged the commercial importance of the project; but in connection with it many idealistic plans were discussed. Baylies, of Massachusetts, for example, affirmed the practicability of an interoceanic canal, which would render the commerce of the Pacific tributary to the United States, particularly if the nation would wisely take possession of a good port on the Western coast. Even if, as some feared, such a Pacific coast settlement could not remain permanently a part of the United States, it would nevertheless be better to have the Columbia region colonized by Americans than by aliens. "I would delight," he says, "to know that in this desolate spot, where the prowling cannibal now lurks in the forest, hung round with human bones and with human scalps, that the temples of justice and the temples of God were reared, and man made sensible of the beneficent intentions of his Creator." He referred to the marvellous growth of the

country within the memories of men then living, and prophetically continued: "Some now within these walls may, before they die, witness scenes more wonderful than these; and in after times may cherish delightful recollections of this day, when America, almost shrinking from the 'shadows of coming events,' first placed her feet upon untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the greatness which awaited her."

But the bill failed to pass Congress. The ablest speech in opposition was made by Tracy, of New York. He took the ground that the proposed military occupation of the Columbia was not demanded as a protection to existing Pacific trade; and it had not been shown that it would in any way promote our commercial interests in that quarter. The idea of an overland commercial connection between the east coast and the mouth of the Columbia was simply visionary; and he had no sympathy with a policy that would employ military establishments to draw population to exposed regions, when they should be used merely to protect the existing frontiers. He had received accurate information concerning the Columbia region from men who had been there. The bar at the river's mouth was dangerous, the valley was cramped by encroaching mountains, offering, in one hundred miles from the coast, few spots fit for the pursuit of agriculture. The Willamette valley was better, but east of this again all was desert. Finally, the people of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific never could form one people. For, said Tracy, in language which well represented the prevailing American sentiment of that time: "Nature has fixed limits for our nation; she has kindly interposed as our western barrier, mountains almost inaccessible, whose base she has skirted with irreclaimable deserts of sand."

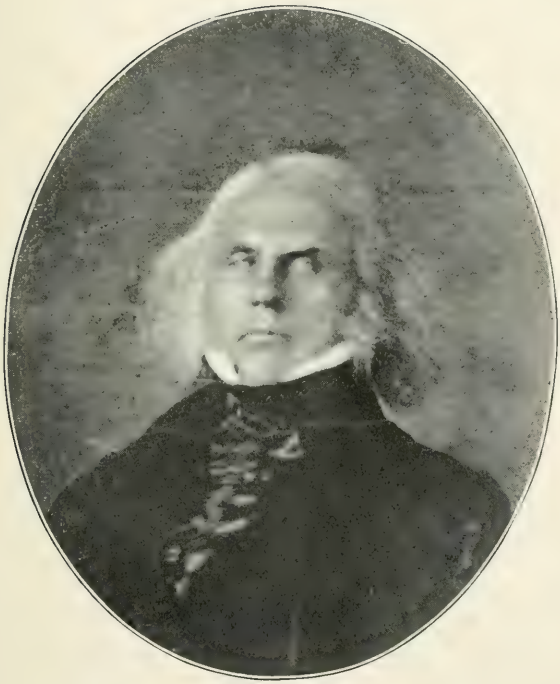
While the interest aroused in the House by this discussion was general, eight members participating in the debate, yet the idea of occupying the Columbia was in advance of public opinion. The vote, January 27, 1823, on the

question of taking the bill from the table, which resulted in its defeat, showed sixty-one in favor of the bill, and one hundred against it.

A remarkable fact connected with this debate in the House is that all the speakers took for granted the right of the Union to plant both a military post and a colony on the Columbia, not one of them believing that the treaty of joint occupation affected our exclusive title to the territory. Indeed, when Colden, of New York, referred to the treaty, he ventured the opinion that its measures were not intended to imply a doubt of the title of the United States below the parallel of forty-nine degrees. These facts are significant as tending to show that the British claim to the Columbia region was as yet an unreality to the majority of Americans in public life. Whatever of justice may be found in these pretensions, it is certain that from the American point of view the British claims appeared suddenly, and the people were unable to treat them with the respect they might otherwise have commanded.

But there was one man in Congress who recognized the danger to American claims in article III of the treaty of October 20, 1818. On the 17th of February, Benton delivered a speech in the Senate in which he gave a fairly complete account of the steps by which Great Britain, by the rights of discovery, exploration, and settlement, had become a formidable claimant of territory clearly belonging to the United States. Moreover, the British were in possession, and if they remained in exclusive control until the close of the period of so-called "joint occupation," the law of nations would give them a further right of possession until the question of sovereignty should be settled by diplomacy or war. In order to maintain the rights of America, he insisted, it would be wise to take military possession of Columbia River without delay.

This first Congressional discussion of the Oregon question is a good introduction to the entire controversy. It showed the existence of a sentiment, destined to gain



Dr. John McLoughlin, governor of Vancouver. *From a daguerreotype in the library of the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, California.*

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strength, that the United States must have an outlook on the Pacific; that their right to the Columbia was established by the discovery, exploration, and occupation of the river before the war with Great Britain, and by the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, and the treaty of 1819, by which they acquired the rights formerly claimed by Spain. Finally, that the pretensions of Great Britain, while wholly unfounded so far as the Columbia valley was concerned, had unfortunately been recognized in the treaty of 1818, and must be promptly and vigorously opposed.

An evidence that the Congressional debate was not without effect is found in the fact that almost immediately, in 1824, negotiations were opened with the British government, in which John Quincy Adams took a very different attitude from that assumed five years before. In writing instructions for Rush, our representative at London, he outlined the arguments by which the United States proposed to maintain their right of sovereignty over the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, washed by the Columbia and its branches, between the parallels of forty-two degrees on the south, and fifty or fifty-one degrees on the north. The series of facts was the usual one, Gray, Lewis and Clark, Astor, and the Spanish treaty. These, he conceived, established American rights by "all the principles which have ever been applied to European settlements upon the American continent." In addition he held it to be practically impossible for any European power to plant successful colonies on the Northwest coast, while to the United States, holding the territory contiguous to the region, colonization was perfectly feasible. It had for some years been seriously discussed in Congress, and doubtless would be accomplished in the course of "a very few years." Rush was authorized to offer the line of fifty-one degrees as the boundary from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, but if this should be refused, he might renew the earlier offer of the parallel of forty-nine degrees. The negotiation, carried on mainly in 1824, failed; but the discussion made evident the fact that Great Britain claimed

the right to colonize any part of the Northwest coast, and denied the exclusive rights claimed by the United States.

In Congress the question was discussed at nearly every session until after the renewal of the treaty of joint occupation in 1827. Floyd introduced a bill in 1824, which passed the House in December, and early the next year was discussed in the Senate, but not passed. In the following session, 1825–1826, a committee of Congress, headed by Baylies, of Massachusetts, made a report in which objectionable language was used to characterize the British claim. It was said to be the outgrowth of "inordinate ambition," and declared to be "wholly unfounded." The report is interesting, not because it introduces new points in the argument, but because such cavalier treatment of the subject produced much irritation in Great Britain, and perhaps contributed to the failure of the negotiations begun in the same year.

When in 1826, at the instance of the British government, it was decided to enter upon new negotiations for the settlement of various disputed points, Gallatin was appointed special commissioner. Albert Gallatin was not only one of America's foremost legislators and financiers, but ranked as one of the greatest diplomats of his time. With Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, he had secured the favorable Treaty of Ghent in 1814, since which time he had been much abroad, serving his country for seven years at the court of Paris. So profound was President Adams's confidence in Gallatin's ability and integrity, that he suggested that the minister might write his own instructions. Formal instructions were, however, given him, with the understanding that any discretionary power he might see fit to use would be sanctioned by the president.

Gallatin arrived at London on August 7, 1826, and opened negotiations in September. The business occupied more than a year, terminating early in October, 1827. Gallatin secured four separate treaties, one of which, concluded on August 6, 1827, referred to the Oregon question.

At the diplomatic conferences held on this subject, the case of the United States was strongly presented. Gallatin rested confidently on the rights created by the discovery of the Columbia by Gray, its exploration by Lewis and Clark, the occupation of its mouth and some of its upper waters by Astor's parties, the restoration of Astoria in 1818, and the acquisition by the United States in 1819 of the prior rights of Spain. These, taken together, he contended, gave the United States a good claim up to latitude fifty-one degrees. But in the spirit of concession, and as a recognition of the important explorations of British navigators from the Columbia northward, he offered the line of forty-nine degrees, already the boundary between the two countries as far west as the Rocky Mountains. He was even willing to modify the line in certain particulars, to the advantage of British subjects living on the headwaters of the Columbia.

Gallatin's claims met with vigorous opposition. The British diplomats denied that the facts on which the United States relied gave that country an exclusive right to any portion of the territory in question. They called attention to the elaborate and careful surveys of the coast made by the British exploring expeditions under Cook and Vancouver, supplemented by the work of many other British navigators. Moreover, the entire coast, up to at least sixty degrees, had at one time been claimed by Spain on the basis of merely casual explorations, which included the actual discovery of the mouth of the Columbia in 1775, and yet Great Britain had never recognized the right of Spain to the exclusive sovereignty of those coasts, and, in 1790, at the imminent risk of war, had insisted on the opening of that region to the trade and settlement of all nations. Not only Great Britain, but the United States, had profited from the breaking of the Spanish claims, and it was two years after the expulsion of Spain that the American discovery of the Columbia took place. It was considered that the mere discovery of the mouth of a river gave no such rights. Nor could it be admitted that

the exploration of portions of the river by a government expedition, gave an exclusive right to this territory. British explorers, notably Alexander Mackenzie, had crossed the Rockies and reached the Pacific much earlier than the Americans [1793], although, as it happened, not by the course of the Columbia. English and Scotch traders, however, had reached the northern branches of that river before they were visited by Americans, and were carrying on a trade with the natives at several points south of forty-nine degrees when Astor made his settlement at the mouth of the river. For all these reasons, it was contended, no exclusive rights could be conceded, and, therefore, the principles established by the Nootka convention in 1790 must govern the question of sovereignty on the Northwest coast. That is to say, each nation was fully empowered to trade with the natives of the Oregon country, and to make such settlements as it chose for that purpose, but not to infringe the equal right of the other party to do the same.

Gallatin discussed each point in detail, but to no avail. The British diplomats again offered to divide the territory on the line of the Columbia and the forty-ninth parallel, and even offered as a concession to the United States a good harbor on Fuca's Strait, and a triangle of territory north of the Columbia lying on the sea coast.

Looking at the question from this distance, it is seen that there was reason in the British position. International usage insists that territory claimed by right of discovery and exploration must be effectively settled or occupied within a reasonable time by the claimant state, or others have the right of entry. The position of the United States in 1827 was weak in that Americans had no interests worth mentioning in the Columbia valley, while the subjects of Great Britain had very important ones. There is no doubt that from the legal point of view solely, the rights of the United States in the main Columbia valley at least were superior to those of their opponent. As to the northernmost branches of the river and the coast above its mouth there is room for

question. At all events, this was a case calling for practical adjustment, in the spirit of compromise, rather than for the assertion of theoretical claims. Time, too, might be expected to work a change in conditions favorable to the United States, and, therefore, the failure to agree on a line of partition with Great Britain in 1827 was not an unmixed evil.

CHAPTER VII

THE RÉGIME OF THE FUR TRADER

The strongest claim of the British government in its contest with the United States over Oregon had been established by the energy and enterprise of the great northern fur companies, which, particularly since the failure of the Astor Company, had regularly exploited the region in the way of trade. We have seen that the Northwest Company was early on the ground. When Astor's men reached the upper country in the summer of 1811 they found agents of this association already established among the Spokanes, the Flatheads, and the Kootenais. These Canadians had been on the sources of the Columbia for more than two years.

The acquisition of the advantages gained by the Astor Company, "the fruits of three years vigorous labor," in 1813, was the beginning of a great expansion in the trans-Rocky Mountain business of the Northwest Company. In April, 1814, the company made its first extensive movement from the Pacific to the interior, dispatching eighty men, in ten canoes, with such supplies as remained over from the stock of the Pacific Fur Company. Before the end of April the *Isaac Todd*, sailing from London with supplies for the Northwest Company, came in, with a full cargo and a considerable reinforcement of men. Among these was Donald M'Tavish, governor of the department.

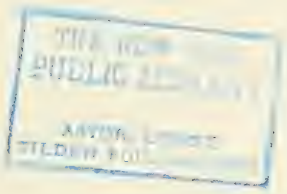
This event definitely inaugurated the new régime on the Columbia. Henceforth, British vessels arrived annually at

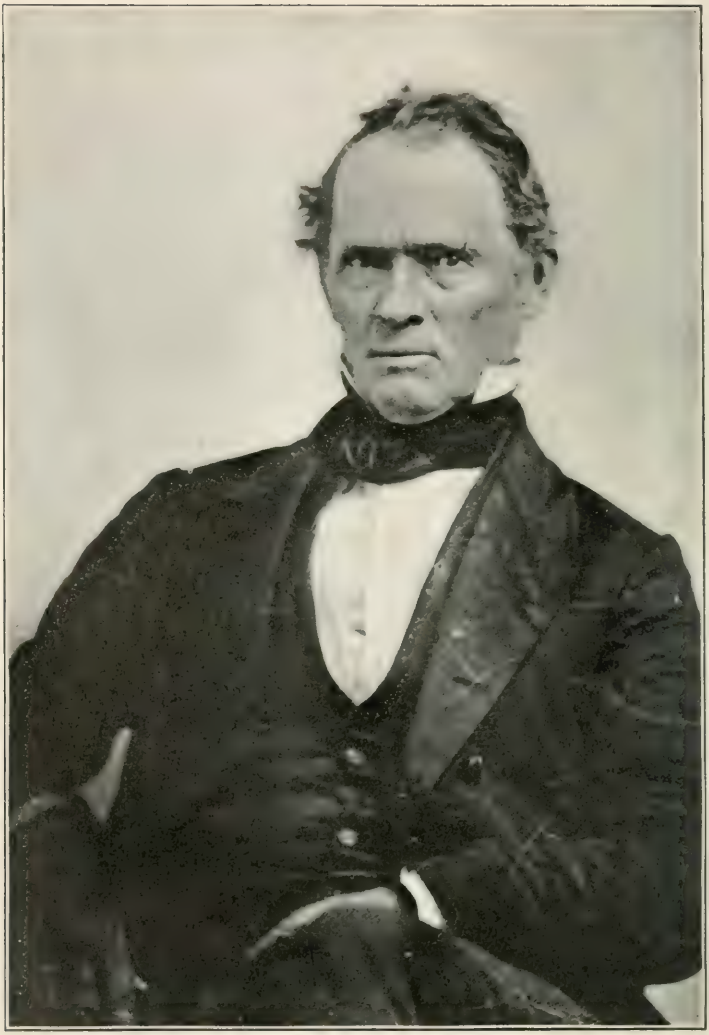
the mouth of the river, carrying out, so far as was practicable under the changed conditions, the plans Astor had begun to execute. Several things, however, interfered with that complete success which the "Northwesters," remembering Alexander Mackenzie's predictions, expected. The coasting trade suffered from the competition of "Boston ships," and also from the expansion of Russian enterprise in the North; the Canton market deteriorated, port duties grew excessive, and the East India Company interfered with the Oriental trade. The furs collected at Fort George were therefore, after the first few years, usually disposed of to the American merchants dealing at Canton, or shipped direct to London.

The expedition which set out for the interior, April 4th, passed in safety the several bands of unfriendly Indians at the Cascades, the Dalles, the Walla Walla, and the Forks of the Columbia, and arrived at Okanogan on the 23d of the same month. From there a small party started overland to the main establishment of the Northwest Company at Fort William, on Lake Superior. Their way led up the Columbia to Canoe River, and from the head of navigation on this stream over the Athabasca Pass. Such of the remaining Astor men as declined to take employment with the new concern, accompanied this expedition and thus reached their homes in the East. A second party passed over this route soon afterward to carry news to headquarters of the arrival of the *Isaac Todd*.

The interior trade was now conducted without opposition at Okanogan, She Whaps, Spokane, and its several outposts; and in the spring of 1815 a general council of the "Northwesters" convened at Fort George, but no new plans were developed, no new territory opened.

A change was contemplated in the location of Fort George, and in the winter of 1813–1814 parties were sent along the river to select a more eligible site. The prevailing idea was that the central establishment ought to be placed near the mouth of the Willamette, where were open lands


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General Joseph Lane, first governor of the Oregon Territory. *From the original in possession of the Oregon Historical Society.*

for cultivation and grazing, a less humid climate and pleasanter surroundings than those at the mouth of the river. Then, too, a fort at that point would be less expensive, and less exposed to capture by an enemy's ship. It was finally determined to build the new fort on Tongue Point, a promontory only three miles above the old location, on the same side of the river, and there an elaborate establishment was constructed, but after a short sojourn the site was abandoned in favor of the earlier and more conveniently located fort.

The business of the department was conducted with so little zeal that the heads of the company, gathered at Fort William, soon grew dissatisfied with the reports from the Columbia, and sought means of improving conditions there. They decided to make Fort George the emporium for the entire region west of the Rockies, instead of merely for the Columbia valley as heretofore. The council decreed that special efforts should be made to extend the trade of the interior into new fields, by means of trapping parties sent out from the main establishments. It was determined also to make a separation between the coast department and the interior department, and give each its own chief. A number of Iroquois fur hunters, from Canada, were sent to the Columbia.

The new arrangements made little difference in the condition of the coast trade; but the interior department, under the direction of Donald M'Kenzie, one of the Astor partners who returned to the Columbia in 1816, now flourished in an unprecedented manner. M'Kenzie was well adapted to the rough work cut out for him. He understood the Indian character, was vigorous and energetic, had a clear insight into trade conditions, and few scruples, either about breaking time-honored customs or running counter to the feelings and wishes of others in carrying out plans which he deemed for the interest of the company.

Up to this period, the general distributing centre for the operations on the upper Columbia had been the post at Spokane, constructed with so much care by Clark in 1812.

Goods were carried up the river, either to Okanogan or to a convenient point on Snake River, and then conveyed on horses to this place, whence they were again sent out, to the Flathead, the Kootenai, and even back to the Snake. Since the new plans involved, especially, operations to the southward, nothing could be more expensive or inconvenient than the retention of Spokane House as the base. M'Kenzie determined that it must be abandoned as a central point; and in spite of bitter opposition from many of his associates, who remembered the unusual attractions of this rendezvous, with its good cheer, its dance hall, and its racecourse, he carried his point.

His plan was to build a new establishment, which might serve as the base for the entire inland trade, at the junction of the Walla Walla with the Columbia. At this point were centered several important tribes, the Walla Wallas, Cayuses, Nez Percés, Umatillas, Yakimas, and others, who had always been more or less hostile to the whites, and had made that portion of the river peculiarly dangerous for small trading parties. Both the Astor people and the "Northwesters" had, as far as possible, avoided these natives. M'Kenzie saw that the true policy was to mingle and trade with them, and thus transform them from enemies into friends.

For two years he was hindered in carrying out his project, partly by the opposition which he met with from the associates at Fort George, and partly by circumstances over which neither he nor they could exercise control. Finally, in July, 1818, M'Kenzie encamped at the mouth of the Walla Walla with a hundred men, amid rapidly swelling throngs of Indians whom it required the greatest tact to control, and began the erection of Fort Nez Percé, afterward more appropriately named Walla Walla. Almost instantly, the relations with the natives changed. All the tribes of the vicinity, as far as the Dalles, became firmly attached to the company. Inter-tribal quarrels were arbitrated, and wars ceased throughout the region dominated by M'Kenzie.

Moreover, the control of this man over the natives paved the way for important arrangements with the Indians to the south and east with whom the Columbia River tribes were frequently at war. The great nation of the Snakes, or Shoshones, which numbered according to Ross—whose figures would seem to be too high—about thirty thousand, in three principal divisions, occupied in general the country between the Rockies and the Blue Mountains, but extending southward well toward the California line. Their land was immensely rich in furs, and thus far had not been entered by the traders of any nation. It was M'Kenzie's great aim to conciliate these tribes, establish peaceful relations between them and the Indians of the plains, and maintain trapping parties on the water courses of the Snake. By extraordinary exertions he succeeded in this enterprise, and the very next season brought thence a fine lot of furs to the post at Walla Walla. Each season of M'Kenzie's stay in the country, until 1821, the returns from the Snake country were good, and it is estimated that the proceeds from this source constituted by far the largest gains of the company west of the mountains.

Hardly had the interior trade of the Northwest Company begun to thrive when the rule of the company in Oregon gave place to the régime of the Hudson's Bay Company. This chartered corporation, dating from the tenth year of Charles II., had experienced violent opposition at the hands of its younger rival, for both companies were seeking to extend their operations into the same territory. The Hudson's Bay Company pushed further and further westward, disregarding the claims of the "Northwesters"; while the other party did not hesitate to send trading parties northward into territory clearly belonging to its rival. For a time nothing worse than the sharp methods of forest commerce were used, methods which included the employment of rum to debauch opposition traders, trappers, and their Indian customers; the inciting of the natives to the theft or destruction of goods and boats; and similar "tricks of the trade."

About 1812, arose the question of the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to control the Red River country lying athwart the line of operations of their rivals. Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, planted a colony of Highlanders in that region. Two years later the governor of the colony issued a decree which, if enforced, would have prevented the Northwest Company from taking supplies of foodstuffs and other necessaries from the district. A war broke out, which raged most fiercely in 1816, when a battle was fought wherein seventeen of the colonists were killed. In the train of this disaster followed a long series of criminal trials, the expense of which bade fair to bankrupt both organizations. Finally, through the intervention of members of the British government, the two companies were consolidated December 21, 1821, under the name of The Hudson's Bay Company.

So was realized the dream of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. A company of British merchants at last monopolized the fur trade of the entire North and West, with one emporium at York Factory, on Hudson Bay, the other at Fort George on the Columbia. There is no doubt that this was for the interest of the trade as well as of the Indians, who were now dealt with according to the best commercial principles. The Hudson's Bay Company organization remained practically intact under the new arrangements, its charter privileges being extended over all the territory formerly traversed by the Northwest Company, and receiving also certain powers of government deemed essential to the effective enjoyment of charter rights. Many of the "Northwesters" were admitted to the new organization, M'Kenzie, for example, being promoted to the governorship of the Red River colony.

On the Columbia, comparatively little change took place for several years. But in 1824 the new era was definitely inaugurated by the arrival of chief factor Dr. John McLoughlin. He was a man of remarkable personality, great aptitude for business, and gifted both intellectually and

spiritually. He would have been a noticeable figure wherever he had gone, but the peculiar circumstances attending his career on the Columbia have made him a historical character of extraordinary significance, and his figure looms large among the men who made the beginnings of Oregon.

McLoughlin reached Fort George in the spring of 1824, having come overland in company with Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company. Together they developed plans for reorganizing the business of the Pacific department, which included the entire region west of the Rockies between the parallels of forty-two degrees and fifty-four degrees forty minutes. The first great project of improvement was the selection of a new site for the headquarters of the department to take the place of Fort George. After a careful survey, McLoughlin fixed upon a spot some five or six miles east of the mouth of the Willamette, on the north bank of the Columbia. Ocean vessels could readily ascend thus far, and here converged the great avenues of trade by way of the Cowlitz, the Willamette, and the Columbia. It was in the very heart of the western district of Oregon.

Alexander Henry had visited this spot on the 6th of February, 1814, when exploring the river for a better site on which to build the central fort. In view of McLoughlin's selection of the place, Henry's description of it becomes a matter of interest. "The land adjoining the river," he says, "is a low meadow, mostly overflowed at high water, about three miles long, and at the widest part three-quarters of a mile in breadth, to the foot of a range of prairie ground rising thirty feet. On the top of this hill is a delightful situation for a fort, on a prairie two miles long and broad, with good soil and excellent pine in abundance in the rear—in a word, the most eligible situation I have seen on the Columbia." But Henry had decided against the site on account of a variety of reasons, such as distance from the ocean, the lack of sturgeon fishery, and swiftness of the river current. The first fort was built on the high ground,

somewhat more than half a mile from the shore. This was occupied first in 1825; but it soon proved inconvenient on account of the distance from the river, and in the spring of 1829 a new fort was begun on the low ground, only about eighty rods from the shore. It was a stockaded, rectangular enclosure, thirty-seven rods in length by eighteen in width, built of timbers about twenty feet in length. All the principal buildings, including the residence of the chief factor, were within the enclosure, while in the course of years a considerable village grew up outside of the stockade. This was the Fort Vancouver which figures so often in the annals of early Oregon.

For twenty-two years Dr. McLoughlin remained in charge of this establishment, and his rule there and over the great wilderness empire under his supervision showed many of the characteristics of the benevolent despotisms of the eighteenth century. Subordinates both feared and loved him; Indians learned to trust his justice, both to reward good deeds and punish evil doers; American traders, missionaries, colonists, and even mere adventurers, expected and received at his hands the most exemplary hospitality.

The business of the entire western department found its clearing house at this Vancouver. Ships from London arrived at that place annually, bringing supplies and merchandise for the trade. There were the general stores and warehouses from which the expeditions for the interior were freighted and which usually contained supplies for a year in advance of actual needs. There, too, was the fur house in which were gathered all the peltries collected from a territory embracing half a million square miles, and stretching from California in the south to Alaska in the north. The coasting vessels of the company landed at the Vancouver wharf the furs collected from St. James, Alexandria, Langley, Kamloops, and other stations in what is now British Columbia. The spring fleets of boats brought down the Columbia the proceeds of the winter's trade and hunt from Umpqua in the south, Walla Walla, Okanogan,

Colville, and Spokane, and many lesser establishments on the upper waters of the Columbia.

Exact information being absent, because the Vancouver records have not been given to the world, we cannot definitely determine the value of this far-reaching trade; but in 1828, an explorer from the East, Jedediah S. Smith, was informed that the current annual account amounted to about thirty thousand beaver skins, worth a quarter of a million dollars, besides a large collection of other furs.

While the establishment upon the Columbia had for its leading object the fur trade, McLoughlin early perceived the economy of carrying on agricultural and manufacturing operations as adjuncts to the fur business. By 1828, a fine farm had been opened on the prairie about the fort, and fields of wheat, oats, corn, peas, and barley, together with a well-kept vegetable garden, testified both to the goodness of the soil and the careful thrift of the master of Vancouver. As the years passed, this farm was increased by the cultivation of larger portions of land, until several thousand acres of the best grain and vegetable land were embraced in it. One writer describes it as stretching "behind the fort, and on both sides along the banks of the river. It is fenced into beautiful corn fields, vegetable fields, orchards, gardens, and pasture fields, which are interspersed with dairy-houses, shepherds' and herdsmen's cottages."

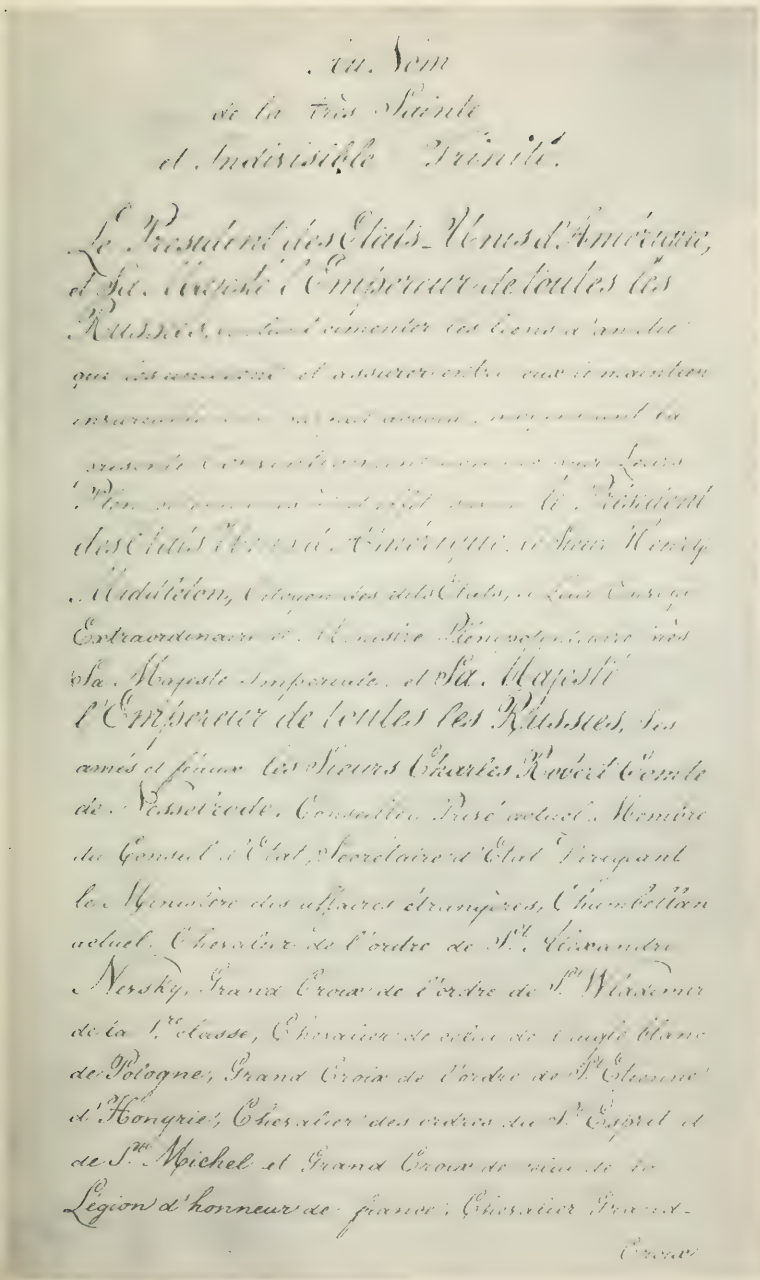
The intention at first had been to raise grain and other food supplies for the trading establishments, but in time there was a surplus to supply the Russians in Alaska. This supply was increased when a number of the ex-servants of the fur company began farming on their own account near Vancouver.

When the *Isaac Todd* reached the Columbia in April, 1814, after touching at San Francisco, she had on board two young bulls and two heifers of the California breed. Several goats and a few hogs had already been brought in by the Astor people. This was the beginning of the live stock interest of the Pacific Northwest. When Jedediah S.

Smith visited Vancouver in the winter of 1828–1829 he saw about two hundred cattle, fifty horses, fourteen goats, and three hundred swine. The next few years witnessed a surprising increase in these numbers.

The fort had its complement of mechanics, smiths, carpenters, coopers, tinners, and bakers. There was a mill for the manufacture of flour; and a large saw mill, located on a stream at some distance from the establishment, furnished lumber enough for home use, and also an occasional cargo for the Sandwich Islands and California. Several small vessels, for the coast trade principally, had been built at Vancouver prior to 1829.

Such, briefly, were the British interests in Oregon at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and under the conditions of "joint occupation." But the next twenty-five years were to witness the American people entering into the territory, becoming the rivals and then usurping the place of the British, and finally forcing upon their government the recognition of the right of the American republic to the territory to the forty-ninth parallel.

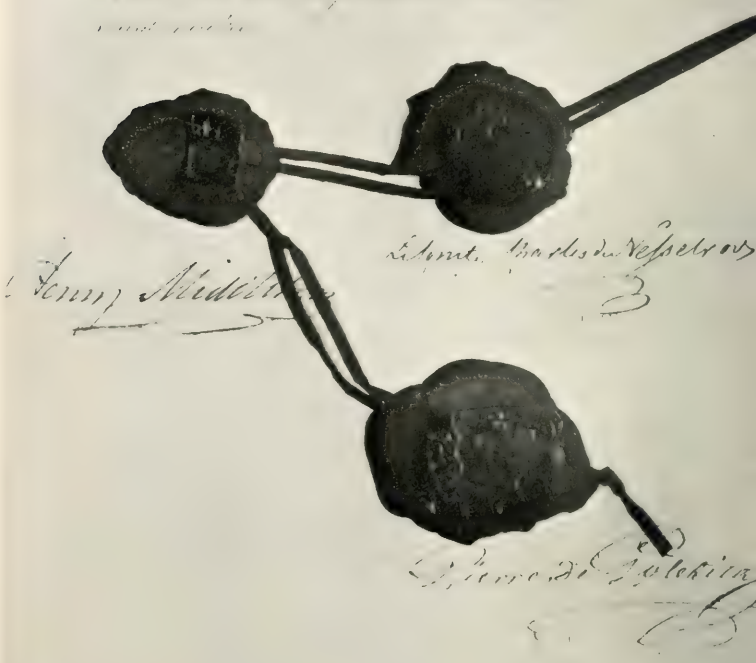


. au Nom
de la très Sainte
et Indivisible Trinité.

Le Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique,
et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les
Russies, ayant jugé convenable de cimenter les liens d'amitié
qui unissent les deux Parties contractantes et assurer entre elles le maintien
invariable de la bonne intelligence, relativement aux
grands principes de navigation sur les mers, Leurs
Plénipotentiaires respectifs, savoir: le Président
des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, le Sieur Henry
Middleton, Citoyen des dits Etats, leur Envoyé
Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire près
Sa Majesté Impériale et Sa Majesté
l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, les
amés et féaux les Sieurs Charles Robert Comte
de Nesselrode, Conseiller Privé actuel, Membre
du Conseil d'Etat, Secrétaire d'Etat Dirigeant
les Ministère des affaires étrangères, Chambellan
actuel, Chevalier de l'ordre de St. Alexandre
Nevsky, Grand Croix de l'ordre de St. Wladimir
de la 1re classe, Chevalier de celui de l'Aigle blanc
de Pologne, Grand Croix de l'ordre de St. Etienne
d'Hongrie, Chevalier des ordres de St. Esprit et
de St. Michel et Grand Croix de celui de la
Légion d'honneur de France; Chevalier Grand-

Croix

First and last pages of the treaty with Russia, dated April 17/5, 1824, in relation to navigation and fishing. *From the original in the Department of State, Washington.*



CHAPTER VIII

ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN ADVANCE

We recall that as early as 1822, it had been predicted by a few statesmen that ultimately the control of the Union would not stop at the Rocky Mountains. They had seen the population beyond the Alleghanies, amounting in 1800 to less than half a million, increase in twenty years to more than two millions, nearly one-eighth of which had already passed beyond the Mississippi. They had beheld far-stretching woodlands annually levelled to the plow and the wild prairies of one season covered with the corn fields of the next.

Upon the western waters, where two decades before might have been found a few rude hamlets, with a mixed and unprogressive population, were pretentious towns, with wealth, industry, and rapidly growing trade. Among them Louisville, New Orleans, Cincinnati, and St. Louis held the same preëminence among the towns of the West that Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore maintained among the cities of the Atlantic seaboard.

St. Louis, controlling the line of communication with the distant Rocky Mountains, occupies a unique place in the history of the westward movement. The traders of that city, following the route opened by Lewis and Clark, tried at an early day to establish their influence along the whole line of the Missouri, whose upper tributaries were known to be extremely rich in furs. But the hunters and

traders encountered a serious obstacle in the hostility of the Blackfoot Indians, who were under British influence. The Missouri Fur Company made a number of ineffectual efforts to gain a foothold in that territory, some of them prior to Astor's overland expedition; but at last the company was discouraged and withdrew its trappers to the lower courses of the river.

In 1822, when Congressional discussion was first bringing the Oregon question prominently before the country, General William H. Ashley, of St. Louis, organized what afterward became the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. In five years he made the first successful attempts at collecting furs on the upper Missouri, and in the mountains, to within the limits of the Oregon territory. Ashley's original plan was to build trading forts at eligible points on the Missouri, and gather to them the furs collected by the Indians. For this purpose Andrew Henry ascended the river in 1822 and built a post at the mouth of the Yellowstone. But his failure to placate the warlike Blackfeet caused the abandonment of the place, and then Ashley inaugurated the new policy of scouring the country with bands of trappers to catch beaver instead of waiting for the natives to bring them in for trade. Several parties were fitted out, which, under appointed leaders, traversed the wilderness for hundreds of miles, especially toward the southwest.

It was at the hands of the trappers of this company that the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon first experienced the effects of American competition. The first instance of contact between the parties is said to have occurred in 1822. Two years later, Jedediah S. Smith, of whom we shall hear more in the following pages, fell in with a party of British trappers left on the upper Columbia by Alexander Ross, and Smith succeeded by some means in securing their collection of furs. In 1825, Ashley himself, while conducting trapping parties through the region north of Salt Lake, secured for a song, it is not clear how, a quantity of beaver fur worth not less than $70,000, which had been

collected and *cachéd* by parties under Peter Skeen Ogden, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

These incidents and other questionable successes gained by Ashley, gave the Hudson's Bay Company considerable anxiety. The American Fur Company then entered into the competition, and many individuals fitted themselves out as free trappers, in the hope of capturing a share of the wealth hidden away in the mountain streams. Ashley, in 1826, having secured a fortune, decided to enter the political field, and sold his interest in the Missouri Fur Company to three of his most capable agents, Jedediah S. Smith, David Jackson, and William L. Sublette.

Smith then began that series of journeys which makes his name famous in the annals of the fur trade, and gives him an honorable place among the explorers of the Great West. He first crossed the desert southwest of Salt Lake, and descended into California, reaching San Diego in October, 1826. During the following winter he trapped along the California streams, and in June, 1827, returned to the rendezvous near Salt Lake. The sufferings of the party had been severe, but the expedition must have been a financial success, for Smith set out almost immediately on another trip to his newly discovered trapping ground. It was on this trip that most of his men were killed by the Mojave Indians, the leader escaping and making his way to the California missions in sorry plight.

In California, enlisting a few men from among the adventurous class already drifting into that region, Smith followed up Sacramento River, trapping as he went, and finally crossed the mountains into Oregon. On the Umpqua, Smith was set upon by a band of hostile savages, all his men except three were killed, and his furs and other property stolen. From this point he made his way down the Willamette to the emporium of the Hudson's Bay fur trade at Vancouver, reaching there in the month of August, 1828. Dr. McLoughlin received the destitute wanderer with his usual courtesy, entertaining him in a manner which

Smith describes as "kind and hospitable." He also sent a party of men to the Umpqua who succeeded in recovering nearly all the furs lost by his guest, which were purchased of Smith at the market price for twenty thousand dollars. McLoughlin charged, for this great service, only the trifling amount due for the time of the men employed, and for the horses lost, on the expedition.

After spending about seven months at Vancouver, Smith accompanied the Hudson's Bay traders up the river to the Flathead country, which he had visited five years before, and later in the summer joined his associates, whom he had not seen for nearly two years. He had made himself thoroughly familiar with the system of the British Company, the character of their establishments, the methods of dealing with the Indians, and, in general, all the features of the trade. A year later, October, 1830, the three partners united in a letter communicating these facts to the secretary of war, and urging the termination of the treaty of joint occupation, under which the British had gained control of the Columbia trade.

One interesting feature of this letter, of "Smith, Jackson, and Sublette," is the account given of taking the first loaded vehicles into the Rocky Mountains, in the spring of 1830. With a caravan of ten wagons, each drawn by five mules, and two one-mule dearborns, the partners started from St. Louis on the 10th of April. They crossed the Kansas, and ascended the Platte to "the head of Wind River, where it issues from the mountains. This took . . . until the 16th of July . . . Here the wagons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the Southern Pass, had it been desirable for them to do so."

The noted depression called South Pass, which is here alluded to, had been discovered several years earlier, also as an incident of Ashley's trapping enterprise. The particulars are not known; the exact date, the name of the discoverer, and other details being merely matter of tradition. It has generally been supposed that Etienne Provost, of the Missouri

Fur Company, who headed one of the trapping parties, crossed the Rockies by this pass late in the fall of 1823. The recent discovery of a bit of written tradition throws some doubt on the correctness of this theory. Amos Holton, writing as an old Westerner, April 13, 1843, says positively: "General Ashley informed me at St. Louis twenty years ago next fall [1823] that he had a short time previously discovered a new route across or through the Rocky Mountains, just above our line of separation from Mexico, it being a valley extending quite through them, the passage of which was perfectly practicable and easy." The pass was certainly discovered about 1823, by some one connected with Ashley's parties, if not by the general himself, and was thereafter regularly used by the mountain traders and trappers. In 1826, Ashley took a mounted cannon through to his post on Salt Lake, this being the first wheeled vehicle to use the route, so far as known. The wagons of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, in 1830, did not enter the pass, but approached it, and could have crossed without difficulty, as the partners asserted and as later travellers demonstrated. Two years from that time wagons were taken through to Green River. Thus the fur trade was not only opening up to the knowledge of Americans the country on the borders of Oregon, but it was serving to develop a practical highway, leading from the frontiers of settlement into the new territory yet further westward.

In 1832, that picturesque character, Captain Bonneville, whose exploits have been so charmingly told by Irving, set out from the borders of Missouri with a company of over one hundred men, bound on a trading expedition into the Rocky Mountains and the Columbia region. Bonneville was a United States military officer who had served for some years in the West, and had become familiar with the stories of wealth to be obtained from the wilderness streams. New York parties furnished him financial support, and it was his expectation to follow the example of General Ashley, and to acquire fortunes for himself and his associates.

Incidentally, he hoped to accomplish something in the way of exploration.

Bonneville crossed South Pass in July with twenty wagons, laden with goods for the Indian trade, and established himself in a camp on Green River. For the space of three years the captain traversed the country lying beyond the crest of the Rockies, appearing now on the shores of Salt Lake, now at the headwaters of Snake or Salmon Rivers, among the distant Blue Mountains, or on the Columbia as far as Fort Walla Walla.

A portion of his men, under the leadership of I. R. Walker, made a trapping expedition to California in 1833–1834. They followed in general the route taken by Jedediah S. Smith a few years earlier, 1826–1827, crossing the desert from Salt Lake to the westward. The party suffered great hardships, both in the desert and the mountains, but were rewarded with a most agreeable winter at Monterey, the Mexican capital of California. When the time came to make the return march to Salt Lake in spring, a portion of the men refused to leave California and remained in the country as settlers; the rest joined Bonneville during the summer of 1834.

This California expedition added to the knowledge of the geography of the region, but neither it nor the operations of Bonneville himself were financially successful. Each additional year added to his losses, and in the summer of 1835 Bonneville returned to the East, having failed utterly in the purpose for which the enterprise was undertaken.

About the time that Bonneville was preparing for his trip into the wilderness, an enterprising Bostonian, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, was laying plans for a similar venture on a larger scale. Wyeth had been an interested reader of numerous pamphlets and articles written by Hall J. Kelley, whom he knew personally, and believed that the valley of the Columbia offered opportunities for profitable trade if sufficient energy and capital could be brought to bear in exploiting its resources. His plan, which resembles the earlier enterprise

of Astor, contemplated both maritime and overland activities, directed toward the mouth of the Columbia.

Having secured the financial support of a Boston firm, who sent a vessel with supplies around Cape Horn, Wyeth set out with his overland party in the spring of 1832. He proceeded to St. Louis, where he gained a knowledge of the methods employed by the Rocky Mountain traders, and a little later left the frontier in company with the annual expedition of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. On reaching Pierre's Hole, Wyeth and his party of eleven men were left to make their own way to the lower Columbia. Arriving at Vancouver, October 24th, they learned that the *Sultana*, sent out by the Boston partners, had been wrecked at the Society Islands. This made the carrying out of Wyeth's plans impossible, and, after spending the winter at Vancouver, he returned to Boston in the fall of 1833.

Wyeth made new arrangements with the partners, encouraging them with accounts of the successes of Ashley and others, and a new ship, the *May Dacre*, was fitted out to go to the Columbia. In the spring of 1834, Wyeth left St. Louis with a larger party than two years before to make the overland trip. At the junction of Snake and Portneuf Rivers Wyeth built a fort for trade with the Snake Indians. This post was named Fort Hall, in honor of the senior partner at Boston.

Leaving a small party at the new establishment to begin the trade, Wyeth proceeded first to Fort Walla Walla and then to Vancouver, where he arrived September 14th. The *May Dacre* was expected to reach the Columbia in June, so that her crew could engage in the salmon fishery, which was a feature of the project, but through unavoidable delays she arrived after the land party, thus losing the fishing season and deranging all the plans of the leader. But Wyeth loaded the vessel with timber for the Sandwich Islands and himself spent the winter, 1834–1835, in a variety of activities, especially trapping for beaver on the waters of Des Chutes River, east of the Cascades. In this

he met with only moderate success, and returned to Fort Vancouver February 12, 1835.

Wyeth saw that in spite of energy and business ability, both of which he possessed, no progress could be made in building up a trade on the lower Columbia in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company, and accordingly he left his station on Wapato Island (Fort William) in the hands of an agent, and after spending a winter at Fort Hall, returned to Boston in the fall of 1836. The Hudson's Bay Company finally purchased Fort Hall, which gave them an outpost against the encroachments of the Rocky Mountain traders, and eventually it became a celebrated way station on the overland route already being opened from the Missouri frontier to the lower Columbia.

One incident of Wyeth's Oregon experience remains to be mentioned. This was the meeting with Hall J. Kelley at Vancouver on his return from the Des Chutes valley in February, 1835. At the time of Wyeth's first trip to Oregon in 1832, Kelley was engaged in raising a colony to go to the Columbia the same year. His plans were elaborate, and theoretically excellent. Towns were to be laid out on Gray's Bay and at the mouth of the Willamette, "where it is believed vessels from every sea will come to trade, repair, and take outfits." Each emigrant was to receive forty acres near one of these towns and one hundred and sixty acres in some other place. The colonists were to organize churches before leaving the East and carry pastors with them, after the manner of the Puritan founders of New England. On reaching the Pacific, steps were to be taken to evangelize the natives, while for the children of settlers and Indians schools of all grades were to be established, "agricultural and classical institutions" to succeed those of elementary character. This colony would, Kelley argued, serve an important national purpose in occupying the country against the British.

The plans of the Boston schoolmaster were not carried out because he failed to induce the emigration on which



The old Greek Church, Sitka.



The port of Unalaska.

their success was conditioned. Kelley therefore went to California in 1833, hoping to reach Oregon from the south. In California he met Ewing Young, a noted frontiersman of New Mexican fame, who also was planning a trip to the Willamette valley. These two men then united their interests and started northward with a band of horses, which the Mexican officials mistakenly supposed had been stolen. Mexico's view of the case was transmitted to McLoughlin through the captain of the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner, which touched at Monterey, and Kelley and Young reached Oregon under suspicion. Wyeth tells us that Kelley was not received at the fort "as a gentleman," but was furnished food and other necessaries at a house outside, a sore point ever afterward with the father of Oregon colonization. Kelley finally got away to the Sandwich Islands and thence to the United States.

The period we have now reached was marked in the country at large by an active philanthropy, having as one of its objects the amelioration of life among the Indians of the far West. Many tribes living in the region of the great plains had once occupied territories east of the Mississippi, with hunting grounds, pastures, and corn fields. From these they had been removed, sometimes for their own good, oftener because of the demand for their lands by the incoming tide of white settlers, and always with bitter lamentations on the part of the Indians forced to abandon the graves of their ancestors.

These scenes, so frequently repeated in the early years of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, called out the active sympathies of men like Isaac McCoy, the missionary hero of many frontiers, who followed the emigrating peoples across the great river. These men carried the Gospel to the Indians, opened schools for the Indian children, and paid great attention to the promotion of agriculture and the habits of settled life. The government coöperated with the missionaries by supplying the agencies with farmers and smiths, and sometimes by paying them for their work as teachers.

Tribes as far west as the Rockies were feeling the effects of these measures—measures which were, to a degree, neutralized by the baleful influence of alcohol, introduced among the Indians by traders. But this evil was courageously attacked, and by the close of the fourth decade of the century Isaac McCoy thought that those tribes living west of Missouri and Arkansas, the region then regarded as a permanent Indian country, might be brought under an effective temperance influence.

In the early thirties, therefore, the West was before the American people, not only on account of the rich fur trade of its mountain streams, but also because of the great field for religious and humanitarian effort which its native tribes presented. Indeed, it was to be expected that in crossing the western barrier the missionary would follow quickly in the footsteps of the trader, for this had been the history of the westward movement from colonial times. In some cases the traders themselves were the first missionaries, and this seems to have been the fact with reference to the Indians of the Columbia basin.

In the fall of 1831 or 1832, General William Clark, then superintendent at St. Louis of Indian affairs for the West, received a visit from four Indians of the Nez Percé nation, who came to inquire about the "white man's Book of Heaven." The date usually given for this visit is 1832. But there were Indians from beyond the Rockies at Clark's office in the fall of 1831, as his letter book shows; and the Wyandot land seekers, whose leader, William Walker, first sent back the report concerning the Indian visitors, were also there in 1831. Yet, Daniel Lee, who saw General Clark in the spring of 1834, and spoke with him about the incident, gives the date as 1832. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the Indians remained until the spring of 1832. The story, soon given a romantic coloring, found its way into the religious periodicals, and provoked intense and widespread interest.

The first organization to respond to the call for help, which this visit was interpreted to be, was the Methodist

Episcopal Church. In 1833 it appointed the Rev. Jason Lee to begin missionary operations upon the Columbia. In the spring of 1834, Lee, with his nephew, Daniel Lee, who was also a missionary, and three laymen, Cyrus Shepard, C. M. Walker, and P. L. Edwards, joined Wyeth's overland expedition on the Missouri frontier. Their supplies, tools, and other equipments for beginning an establishment had been shipped on the *May Dacre*. The first mission was to be founded among the Flatheads, according to the plans of the society at home; but on reaching the Columbia, it was decided for several reasons to begin operations on the Willamette instead. Accordingly, the whole party descended to Vancouver, arriving about the middle of September.

Soon afterward they made an exploring trip up the Willamette. "On the east side of the river, and sixty miles from its mouth, a location was chosen to begin a mission. Here was a broad, rich bottom, many miles in length, well watered, and supplied with timber, oak, fir, cottonwood, white maple, and white ash, scattered along the borders of its grassy plains, where hundreds of acres were ready for the plow." The work of building was at once begun; and when the rains of the Oregon winter came, the industrious mission family found shelter in an excellent log house, which was nearing completion. A fenced field of thirty acres was ready for cropping in the spring. This, together with a log barn, work oxen, cows, and poultry, gave the establishment the appearance of a thriving frontier farm.

Nor was it the only one of its kind in this part of the Willamette valley. When the missionaries arrived on the scene, they found settled near them about a dozen families, living on farms scattered along the river below their station. Old hunters and trappers, weary of forest life, having retired from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, sought permanent homes for themselves, their Indian wives, and their half-breed children. The situation afforded many advantages. The soil was fertile and easily tilled, while the fort provided a convenient market for all surplus products

and furnished in exchange supplies of all kinds actually needed by the settlers. Here was the nucleus of a colony, the first in Oregon not directly dependent on the fur trade, and into this small community the missionary element entered as a new and potent force.

Another missionary enterprise, also inspired by the story of the Flathead delegation to St. Louis, was begun in 1835–1836, and possessed an influence upon Oregon history as great as that attaching to the Willamette mission. In the spring of 1835 the Presbyterian (or Congregational) Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the Rev. Samuel Parker, of Ithaca, New York, to examine into the prospects for a mission on the upper Columbia. He was accompanied by Marcus Whitman, a young physician from the same State, who had entered the missionary service. At Liberty, Missouri, the two men joined a party of traders bound for the mountains, and remained under their convoy as far as Pierre's Hole. There they found many representatives of the Indian tribes they expected to visit, who showed the greatest desire to have missionaries settle among them.

The first object of the journey being determined, Dr. Whitman turned back in order to bring out a party of missionaries the following spring, instead of waiting a year longer as would have been necessary had both gone forward. Dr. Parker placed himself under the protection of a party of friendly Indians, reached Walla Walla in safety, and from there went to Vancouver, where he spent the following winter. In April, 1836, he set forth on an extended tour of the upper country, stopping first at Walla Walla to preach to the assembled Indians of the neighboring tribes. Ascending the Walla Walla valley Dr. Parker observed that in its upper portion was "a delightful situation for a missionary establishment. . . . A mission located on this fertile field," he says, "would draw around [it] an interesting settlement, who would fix down to cultivate the soil, and to be instructed. How easily might the plow go through

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George Abernethy, governor of Oregon under the Provisional Constitution, 1845–1849. *From a photograph in possession of the Oregon Historical Society.*

these vallies, and what rich and abundant harvests might be gathered by the hand of industry."

The missionary explorer made his way to the Snake River country, and then, having returned to Walla Walla, began a journey to Fort Colville. On the way he traversed the beautiful and fertile valley of Spokane River, with its numerous population of prosperous natives. Everywhere he found the Indians eager for teachers, and this reconnoissance resulted in the selection of three centres of missionary effort, the Walla Walla valley, the Snake River country, in what is now western Idaho, and the region about Spokane. All these were ultimately occupied. His work finished, Dr. Parker sailed from Vancouver in June for the Sandwich Islands, going thence by way of Cape Horn to the Atlantic coast, and reaching his Ithaca home in May, 1837.

When Dr. Whitman reported to the missionary board, it decided to send Whitman and his newly married wife, with another married missionary and his wife, and a layman, to begin the enterprise. Whitman was made superintendent of the mission, and given permission to select his assistants. These were finally secured in the persons of the Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, and W. H. Gray.

This party, which included the first white women to make the journey across the continent, reached the frontier, and at Liberty, Missouri, joined the caravan of the American Fur Company. All their supplies, tools, and other equipments for beginning the new establishment were packed on horses, while the travellers were also mounted after the manner of traders and trappers. They had, however, one light wagon, which became indispensable as they neared South Pass, because Mrs. Spalding, who was not strong at the beginning of the journey, became so weak and ill that she could no longer keep her saddle. Thus the wagon driven by Dr. Whitman not only crossed South Pass, as Bonneville's wagons had done in 1832, but kept on past Fort Hall, and down Snake River as far as Fort Boise, where it was finally abandoned. This marked a new stage in the evolution of the wagon road to Oregon.

The party reached Fort Walla Walla on the 3d of September, 1836, and Vancouver a few days later. There the women remained while the men went up the river to begin the first house, on Walla Walla River some twenty-two miles above the fort, at a place called Waiilatpu. Timber being extremely scarce in this region, the structure was built of adobe, in the form of large sun-dried brick, twenty inches in length, ten in width, and five in thickness. A second establishment was built at Lapwai on the Clearwater, in the Nez Percé country, about one hundred and twenty miles east of Waiilatpu. There Mr. and Mrs. Spalding took up their residence, while Dr. Whitman and his wife remained at the Walla Walla mission.

The Indians at both these places responded readily to the efforts put forth in their interest, and it was not long before some of them were gathered into the mission church. Flourishing schools were soon in operation at both stations. The Indians were induced to depend more on agriculture for a living, and less on the precarious occupations of hunting and fishing. In these measures the missionaries met with so much encouragement that Dr. Whitman was able to write, in the spring of 1837, that the Indians generally were laboring at the business of agriculture. The first season, Whitman planted twelve acres of corn and one of potatoes, besides barley and peas. Wheat also, for which this region is particularly adapted, came in time to be cultivated on a large scale, both by the missionaries and the Indians. Domestic cattle multiplied rapidly, and the natives gained in thrift and the habits of an agricultural life.

In the fall of 1838, the missionaries on the Columbia received a reinforcement sent overland under the guidance of Gray who had gone east the year previous for that purpose. The party consisted of Rev. Elkanah Walker and his wife, Rev. Cushing Eells and his wife, Rev. A. B. Smith and his wife, and Mr. C. Rogers. Gray had also married in the East, and was bringing his bride to Oregon. They reached Whitman's station August 29, 1838.

The work was now broadened in its scope. Walker and Eells, in the spring of 1839, established themselves on the Tsimakane, a tributary of Spokane River, while Smith was stationed among the upper Nez Percés, at Kamiah, sixty miles above Spalding's mission, on Snake River. Thus a vast extent of territory, containing many thousands of natives, was penetrated by the missionaries. They labored incessantly, teaching, preaching, translating portions of the Scriptures, and printing them on the little press sent over from Hawaii, building houses for the natives, erecting grist and saw mills, ditching and watering the land, helping the Indians to secure cattle in exchange for their numerous horses.

While these things were happening east of the Cascades the little community on the Willamette was making progress in many ways. At the mission the buildings were at first enlarged, and then, as the needs of the establishment demanded, others were erected in the neighborhood for separate families. The area of cultivated land increased from year to year, while the crops of grain and vegetables reached constantly larger proportions. The missionaries opened a school in which they taught the children of the settlers, as well as those of the Indians. Their Sabbath school was resorted to by a number of all classes and all ages.

By the fall of 1836 the mission family, recruited by a number of adopted Indian children, numbered thirty. The next year two reinforcements arrived, one in May, the other in September. The first party left Boston in the summer of 1836, and was made up of Dr. Elijah White, his wife and two children, Mr. and Mrs. A. Beers, with three children, three unmarried young women, and one unmarried man. The second company contained seven persons.

The mission colony was much strengthened, but its distinctively religious work languished on account of the small number of Indians living within its sphere of influence. The natives of western Oregon were vastly inferior to those of the upper country, especially on the physical side; and

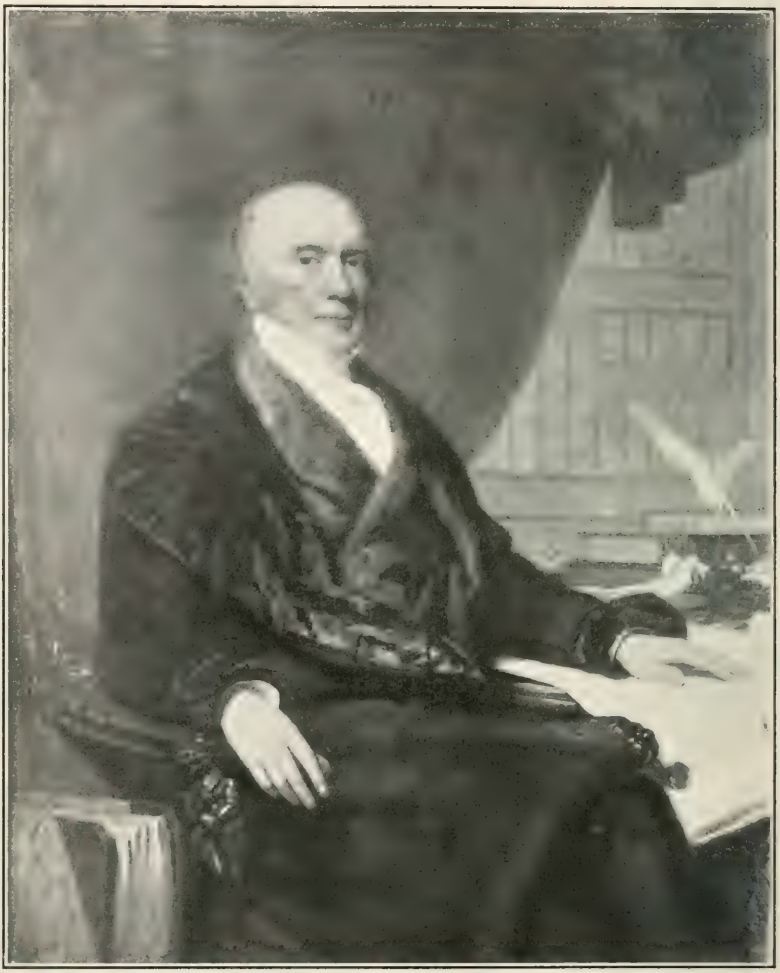
from the first intercourse of white men with them, they had steadily declined in that respect until it could be said without exaggeration that whole tribes were affected by debilitating diseases. They became peculiarly liable to fever and ague and measles, from which, owing to their bad physical condition and unsanitary habits, large numbers perished.

During the summer of 1837 work was begun among the upper Calypooias, who were urged to settle down and become tillers of the soil. But so slight was the success achieved in this quarter that the field was soon all but abandoned. A station planned at this time for the Dalles of the Columbia was established in 1838, and became the most important mission west of the Walla Walla valley. A beginning was likewise made near Fort Nesqually, on Puget Sound. Among the settlers the progress of the new religious influence was very slow. The first "conversion" of a white man occurred early in the year 1837, though some of the Indian wives and half-breed children of the white neighbors had proved less obdurate subjects in this respect.

But if the mission was doing little for the settlement in a purely religious way, it was performing valuable services in other respects. In 1836 it took the leadership in organizing a temperance society, which resulted in the establishment of practical prohibition in Oregon. Dr. McLoughlin heartily seconded these efforts, and it was largely through his influence over the French settlers and other ex-servants of the fur company that the project succeeded so well.

Another matter in which the mission took an important part was the formation of the Willamette Cattle Company. The British at Fort Vancouver had begun early to raise cattle, from breeding stock secured in California, and soon had a very considerable herd. But it was not the policy of the company to sell these freely, because the numbers were not sufficient to warrant it. Many of the settlers realized that the most profitable business that could be followed on the rich grazing lands of the Willamette valley, was the

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Alexander Baring, first Baron Ashburton. *From the painting by George Peter Alexander Healy, in the Department of State, Washington.*

rearing of cattle, and some discussion of the ways and means of securing a better supply of breeding animals took place in 1836. In December of that year an agent of the American government, W. A. Slacum, appointed to investigate conditions in the West, reached the Willamette settlement from Hawaii. He spent time enough among the people to learn their needs fully, and gave substantial encouragement to the plan of driving cattle from California, by offering to carry the Oregon cattle buyers to San Francisco Bay on his return voyage.

The cattle company was therefore organized January 14, 1837, with Ewing Young as leader and P. L. Edwards as treasurer. Both men, and several others, went to California. The mission had contributed six hundred dollars, McLoughlin a considerable sum, and individual settlers had added smaller amounts. With this fund, Young and Edwards purchased eight hundred and odd cattle at three dollars per head and forty horses at twelve dollars per head. When the party reached the Willamette valley in the fall the number of cattle had been reduced from various causes to about six hundred head, which had been secured at a total expense of about seven dollars and seventy-five cents each.

This enterprise, for which credit is chiefly due to Ewing Young, inaugurated a new economic era for Oregon. More than eighty head of the California cattle fell to the share of the mission and their herds rapidly increased. There can be no question that this fact tended to emphasize strongly the colonizing idea, which seems by this time to have taken possession of the missionaries. One of them, writing in 1838, says: "This country is beginning to be known, and such are its advantages that it will be settled. The question is 'by whom'? It is my desire that it may be by good citizens from the United States. If not, it must be by emigrants from Spanish America, Europe, or Canada. I say, 'give us citizens of the United States.' Encourage them to come. As to the Indians, their present population

bears no proportion to the extent and resources of the country."

The time was ripe for such agitation. The Willamette settlement, in October, 1838, contained forty white men exclusive of the missionaries. More than one thousand acres of land had been enclosed, and the crop of 1836 included nearly ten thousand bushels of wheat, as well as a large amount of other produce. The settlement was "fast approaching civilization and good order." The stimulus given to cattle raising by the events of 1837 had opened a new era, in which the valley came to be looked upon as a land of ease and plenty, not only by a considerable number of "mountain men," but, with the dissemination of the news through the country at large, by a good many people in the Mississippi valley as well. The age of Oregon colonization was at hand.

CHAPTER IX

THE COLONIZATION OF OREGON

While American trappers, traders, and missionaries were initiating the significant movements described in the last chapter, diplomatists and statesmen remained silent, if not indifferent, onlookers. For ten years after the renewal of the joint occupation treaty no step of importance was taken in the Oregon matter, either by the State department of the government or by Congress. Yet this was the period in which the nuclei of settlement were formed and preparations made for a great inrush of colonists to the Columbia.

The motives for resuming the Oregon discussion were various. For one thing, the government had been forced, on account of Texan affairs, to interest itself in the Mexican territories to the southwest, and this interest ultimately led to a project for the purchase of northern California, including San Francisco Bay. About the close of the year 1835, W. A. Slacum was commissioned by the government to visit the Pacific coast in the interest of the United States, no doubt with special reference to proposed purchase of California territory. President Jackson instructed him to proceed also to Oregon, to "stop at the different settlements of whites on the coast of the United States and on the banks of the river, and also at the various Indian villages on the banks or in the immediate neighborhood of that river; ascertain, as nearly as possible, the population of each; the relative number of whites (distinguishing the nation to which they belong) and aborigines; the jurisdiction the whites

acknowledge; the sentiments entertained by all in respect to the United States and to the two European powers having possessions in that region; and, generally, endeavor to obtain all such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical as may prove useful or interesting to the United States."

Slacum's report, dated March 26, 1837, was presented to Congress in the following December. It enters slightly into the history of the Oregon question, discusses the situation, trade, the political and economic importance of the Hudson's Bay Company, and describes with some detail the missionary establishment on the Willamette. Slacum found the missionaries doing much good and respected by all; the temperance society was a remarkable success, and the settlers, both American and French, were in a way to prosper greatly by the introduction of cattle from California. We recall that Slacum promoted the organization of the Willamette Cattle Company, and gave its agents a free passage to San Francisco Bay. He was so strongly impressed with the possibilities of the Willamette valley for stock raising, that he declared it "the finest grazing country in the world. Here there are no droughts, as on the pampas of Buenos Ayres, or the plains of California, whilst the lands abound with richer grasses both winter and summer."

One interesting feature of Slacum's report is the emphasis he placed upon the maintenance of the right of the United States to Puget Sound. From the strategic point of view he regarded this body of water as of the highest importance, and hoped that no line south of forty-nine would ever be accepted by the United States, because such a surrender would put this magnificent harbor beyond the republic's boundaries.

After the delivery of Slacum's report, Congress took up the Oregon question once more, and from that time forward there was no abatement of interest until the country had been occupied by the American pioneers, the treaty of partition

with Great Britain secured, and a territorial government established. Many individual members participated actively in the debates, but, during the five years from 1838 to 1843, the leading place among Oregon advocates was held by Lewis F. Linn, senator from Missouri.

On the 7th of February, 1838, Senator Linn brought in a bill for the military occupation of the Columbia, the establishment of a port of entry, and the creation of a territorial government for the territory north of the forty-second parallel. This bill being referred to a committee of which Linn was chairman, he presented, in June, an elaborate report, covering all phases of the Oregon question. The arguments for the occupation of the Columbia were not essentially different from those presented fifteen years earlier by Floyd and his coadjutors, but the accumulation of facts concerning the country, the modes of reaching it, the settlements already there, the character and disposition of the natives, and the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company gave this report a weight which the earlier documents lacked. It was widely read, especially in the West, and for some years was the chief means of disseminating information on the Oregon question and country.

In the spring of 1838, Jason Lee returned to the United States "to obtain additional facilities to carry on . . . the missionary work in the Oregon Territory." He was accompanied by P. L. Edwards, a Mr. Ewing, of Missouri, and two Chinook Indians, Brooks and Adams. On reaching the East, Lee embraced every opportunity of preaching in the local churches and lecturing to audiences eager to hear about the far-off land from which he had returned. He raised a large amount of money for his missionary enterprise, and succeeded in arousing an appreciation of the advantages of Oregon. One result of his zeal was the organization of a party at Peoria, Illinois, which undertook the trip to Oregon overland in 1839. The party consisted originally of fourteen men, under the leadership of Thomas J. Farnham. The company broke up, however, east of the

Rockies, and Farnham made the journey to Oregon with only three companions. He spent some time in the Willamette valley, and then departed for the Hawaiian Islands and California. Afterward he published accounts of both Oregon and California which, brought out in popular form, attracted wide attention. When he left Oregon, Farnham took with him a memorial to the Congress of the United States.

Lee had also borne East a memorial prepared in Oregon, and signed by thirty-six persons, which was submitted to the Senate by Senator Linn on January 29, 1839. The writer, who was P. L. Edwards, stated that the Oregon settlement had existed since 1832, dilated upon the advantages of the country for cattle raising, the agricultural opportunities of the Willamette and Umpqua valleys, the mildness of the climate and the unique commercial advantages of the Columbia. Especial attention was drawn to the growing commerce of the islands of the Pacific, the progress of the settlement of Hawaii, which could be best supplied with beef and flour from Oregon, in exchange for the coffee, sugar, and other tropical products required by the settlers in the North.

"Our interests," said the memorialists, "are identified with the country of our adoption. We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great State, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens. . . . The country must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom. The natural resources of the country, with a well-judged civil code, will invite a good community. But a good community will hardly emigrate to a country which promises no protection to life or property. . . . We do not presume to suggest the manner in which the country shall be occupied by the government, nor the extent to which our settlement shall be encouraged. We confide in the wisdom of the national legislators, and leave the subject to their candid deliberations, . . ."

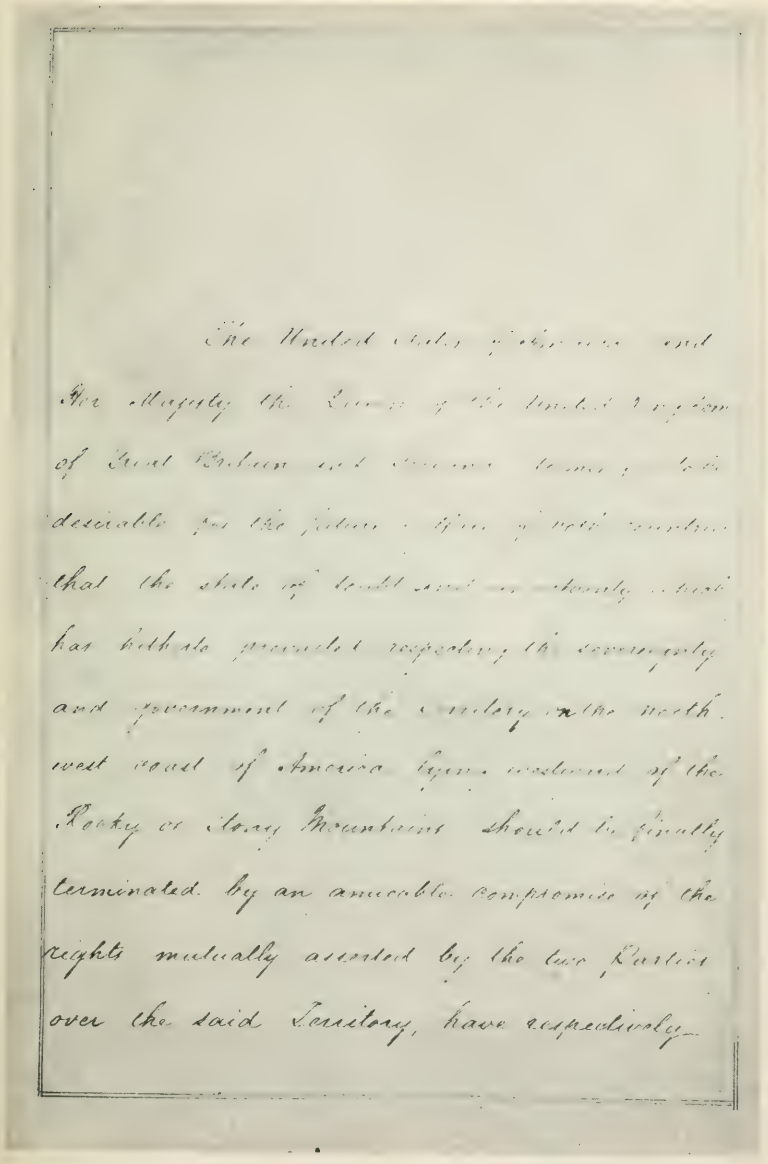
Lee also wrote to Caleb Cushing, representative from Massachusetts, giving further details about the colony already existing on the Willamette, its prospects, needs, and drawbacks. Two things, especially, the colony desired at the hands of Congress: a guarantee that settlers would be allowed to keep the lands taken up by them, and the protection of the laws of the United States. "It may be thought," said Lee, "that Oregon is of little importance; but depend upon it, Sir, there is the germ of a great State."

This activity of the Methodist missionary superintendent greatly strengthened the hands of men like Linn and Cushing, who were striving to develop sentiment in favor of Oregon measures. Yet, in spite of determined efforts, no bill passed Congress until 1843, when the Senate passed a bill which was defeated in the House.

Other agencies were operating throughout the country at large to stimulate the interest already felt in the region west of the Rocky Mountains. In the month of August, 1838, a society was organized at Lynn, Massachusetts, having for its aim the preparation of "the way for the Christian settlement of Oregon." It took the name of "The Oregon Provisional Emigration Society." A number of prominent Methodist pastors and laymen were interested in the project, but it was wholly independent of the society which sustained the Oregon mission, and claimed to have no "sectarian character or purpose whatever." Rev. Frederick P. Tracy, of Lynn, was the leader of the movement. He was the secretary of the society, and editor of its organ, a monthly magazine called at first *The Oregonian*. Afterward the phrase *and Indian's Advocate*, was added to the title. This change made the name of the magazine harmonize with the very comprehensive plans of the society, which were primarily of a philanthropic nature. Its members were not blind to the commercial, agricultural, and other advantages possessed by the western district of Oregon, and frankly avowed their purpose of utilizing them fully, but commerce and agriculture were not their leading

objects. "We have," said the editor of the *Oregonian*, "nobler purposes in view. One principal object of the enterprise, is the civilization and conversion of the Indians, and the salvation of a remnant of that noble race from utter extinction. We believe all this is practicable in the case of the Indians west of the mountains, however difficult it has become with those on our frontier." Briefly, the Indians of Oregon were to be raised to a civilized plane, and then incorporated, with the white settlers, in a new political community, in which, for the first time in American history, the red man would be on an equality with the white.

The scheme was worthy of the idealism of the time, and we could wish for more detailed information than we now possess upon its origin and development. While many elements contained in it are familiar from the writings of Kelley and others, the idea of the Caucasian-Indian State is essentially new, and it is interesting that this idea should have become associated with the rapidly spreading sentiment in favor of the settlement of Oregon. In speaking of the origin of the enterprise, the *Oregonian* says: "The plan of our society was proposed and digested long before Mr. Cushing and Dr. Linn had spoken; before the work of Mr. Parker was published, or the memorial of Mr. Slacum had been seen by the projectors of our plan. Our association does not owe its being to any of these sources of interest, . . . Oregon itself caught our attention; Oregon, the future home of the power which is to rule the Pacific; Oregon, the theatre on which mankind are to act a part not yet performed in the drama of life and government; Oregon, whose far spreading seas and mighty rivers are to teem with the commerce of an empire, and whose boundless prairies and verdant vales are to feel the footsteps of civilized millions; Oregon was before us in its future glory, and we grasped the prospect of its coming greatness as the impulse of our scheme . . . A cry like the Macedonian came up from its glens and hillsides. We heard the voice of the land of our adoption, and obeyed the call."

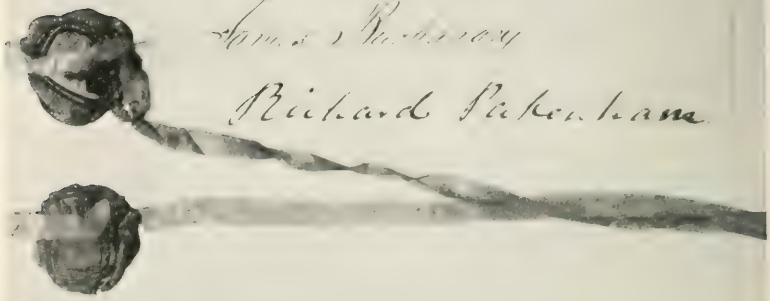


First and last pages of the treaty with Great Britain, dated June 15, 1846, relative to the boundary question. *From the original in the Department of State, Washington.*

Done at Washington the fifth day of
[illegible] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred
and forty-[illegible]

James K. Polk

Richard Pakenham



While this outburst leaves much to be desired concerning the origin of the society, there can be no doubt that the organization did much to disseminate information concerning Oregon. Eleven numbers of the *Oregonian* were published, between the dates October, 1838, and August, 1839. Aside from a large amount of editorial matter on the plans and purposes of the society of which the paper was the organ, the file contains the Congressional reports and speeches of Linn and Cushing, a review of Parker's book, notices of Oregon pamphlets, maps, etc., and constitutes a rich collection of information about the Pacific Northwest of seventy years ago.

In June, 1839, the list of subscribers to the *Oregonian* was nearly eight hundred. At this time the society was advertising for a company of emigrants, including two hundred men with their families, to go to Oregon in the spring of 1840. An agent was employed to visit the Northern and Western States for the purpose of securing settlers. It was stipulated that emigrants must be of good moral character, and believers in the Christian religion. Each emigrant over sixteen years of age was to pay into the treasury the sum of four hundred dollars,—children, thirty dollars,—an amount supposed to cover the cost of emigration and settlement. The society agreed to furnish horses, saddles, food, medical attendance, and all necessary equipments for the overland journey, besides supplies for a year after the arrival of the settlers in Oregon. The company was to rendezvous on the frontier of Missouri in April, and take up the line of march under elected officers. Provisions were to be carried in wagons across the Rockies and possibly even through the Blue Mountains to the Columbia. As a feature of the preparation for colonizing Oregon, the secretary of the company had secured from the "Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company," in London, assurances of their friendly disposition, and an agreement to furnish supplies to the settlers.

Had these projects materialized, the effective colonization of Oregon would have been anticipated by three years; but,

unfortunately, for some reason,—and considering the financial stringency of the time we need hardly look further to find the cause,—the society sent no emigrants to the Columbia in 1840. The last number of the *Oregonian* appeared in August, 1839, and this date marks the end of the society's active existence.

The events of 1838–1839 indicate clearly that the Oregon question had reached the practical stage, and that the renewed activity of Congress was in response to a widespread interest among the people. During the summer of 1839, emigration societies were formed in many places, both East and West,—in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri.

Meantime, Lee's missionary colonization scheme was working out even more successfully than he had hoped. The request made to the Board for missionaries and laymen brought a prompt and hearty response. Thirty-six adult persons volunteered, and with their seventeen children were sent to Oregon in the ship *Lausanne*, fitted out with a very complete colonizing equipment for which the Board had provided the unprecedented sum of $42,000. It has been affirmed, on the authority of one of the passengers, that in chartering the *Lausanne* Lee was assisted from the secret service fund of the United States government. The vessel left New York on the 10th of October, 1839, and reached Honolulu on the 11th of April following. On May 21st, the ship arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, and on the 1st of June the sea-weary passengers were comfortably housed within the hospitable walls of Fort Vancouver.

From there the missionaries were distributed to their destined posts of duty. Rev. J. P. Richmond and family, accompanied by Miss Clark as teacher, repaired to the Puget Sound station at Nesqually; Rev. A. F. Waller took control at the falls of the Willamette; Rev. J. H. Frost went to the mouth of the Columbia; Revs. W. W. Cone and Gustavus Hines were detailed to begin a new mission on

the Umpqua, an enterprise foredoomed to failure. Two of the laymen, Mr. Brewer and Dr. Babcock, were added to the Dalles mission, and the remainder of the half hundred newcomers passed up the Willamette to the central establishment.

This settlement took on more fully than ever the aspect of a prosperous agricultural colony, which, by reason of its social unity and religious leadership, was able to dominate the intellectual interests of the Willamette valley. About this time a small number of "mountain-men," set adrift by the dissolution of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, sought homes near the missionary settlement, further strengthening the American element in Oregon. Soon afterward, about sixty Canadian settlers from Red River arrived in the country, expecting to locate near Puget Sound, where some of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were beginning large operations under the name of the "Puget Sound Agricultural Company." The Canadians were not pleased with the soil in the Sound region, and nearly all removed to the Willamette.

The year 1841 is notable for the presence on the Columbia of three distinguished visitors, each of whom gave an account of his observations. One of them was the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir George Simpson, who came across the continent from Montreal. Another was the French diplomat, Duflot de Mofras, at that time attached to the French legation at Mexico. He was sent north to visit both California and Oregon, which he made the subject of his "Explorations." The third was the American naval officer, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, at the conclusion of his voyage of exploration in Pacific waters begun in 1838.

Wilkes gave a detailed account of the conditions existing on the Willamette at the time of his visit. Near the mouth of the river he found a group of young Americans who had crossed the Rockies in 1840, and were busily engaged in building a vessel, which they called *The Star of Oregon*, for

the purpose of getting away from the country. At Willamette Falls he saw the Methodist mission station under Waller, and a Hudson's Bay trading post, the principal activity of the latter being the packing of the salmon caught in large numbers by the natives. On the west side of the river, some eighteen miles above the falls, Wilkes found an embryonic settlement called Champooick (Champoeg), consisting of four or five rude log huts. Here he was entertained by one Johnson, who turned out to be a survivor of the sea fight between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*. Having retired from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, he was living in this wilderness home, with his Indian wife and the children she had borne him. His little farm supplied grain, a small herd of cattle furnished meat and milk, while the necessity of hunting the terrible cougar yielded sufficient excitement to keep the old seaman happy and contented.

Under the guidance of Michel La Framboise, who had come to Oregon in the *Tonquin* in 1811 and was still in the employ of the fur company, Wilkes rode to the upper settlements, passing on the way "many small farms, of from fifty to one hundred acres, belonging to the old servants of the company, Canadians, who [had] settled here; they all [appeared] very comfortable and thriving." Twelve miles from Champoeg they found Father Blanchet, "settled among his flock, . . . doing great good to the settlers in ministering to their temporal as well as spiritual wants." Beyond this point they passed some "American and English settlers, and then entered on the grounds of the Methodist mission." The shops of the blacksmith and wheelwright were reached first, then the hospital erected by Dr. White, "a well built frame edifice with a double piazza in front—perhaps the best building in Oregon," in which were living four families, including that of George Abernethy, who afterward became the first governor of the Oregon colony. Here were many of the refinements of civilized life. Several log houses stood near the hospital. The mission lands were



James Willis Nesmith, United States Senator from Oregon, 1861–1867.
From a photograph in possession of Clifton Nesmith McArthur, Esq.



producing large crops, one field of self-sown wheat promising a harvest of twenty-five bushels per acre. At "the Mill," nine miles to the southeast, they found "the air and stir of a new secular settlement;—the missionaries [had] made individual selections of lands to the amount of one thousand acres each, in prospect of the whole country falling under our laws."

Wilkes was impressed with the idea that the missionaries had practically abandoned the effort to save the Willamette Indians, who were growing yearly less numerous through the ravages of disease. Moreover, he found the settlers indisposed to act on the suggestion that the Puget Sound country would offer a much more promising missionary field. In fact, the chief desire of these missionary colonists was to establish a government and laws for the Oregon community. Wilkes discouraged this idea as being premature, for the French settlers, controlled by Father Blanchet and McLoughlin, were generally averse to it, and the Americans were, he thought, too few in number to support the burden of government. Moreover, there was no reason for haste since the settlement was perfectly peaceful.

During this period of Oregon's colonization the connection of the settlement with the Hudson's Bay Company was very close. Settlers were arriving each year, usually without the necessary supplies or stock to begin farming, and it was the custom of Dr. McLoughlin to assist all such, agreeing to take his pay out of the crop to be grown. The produce of the valley sought the fort as its regular mart, and thence also came the supplies of manufactured goods and imported merchandise. It is true that the company paid but a small price for their wheat and sold it to the Russians at a very considerable advance, which was a grievous thing to many Americans; but to the impartial student it is clear that the commercial connection thus established was the foundation of the prosperity of early Oregon. Without this assistance and the protection which the fort threw around all comers to this wild region, Oregon could not have been

colonized by straggling parties and a few defenceless missionaries from across the mountains.

Yet Vancouver was to many Americans the type of a great foreign monopoly, which benefited itself while giving aid to settlers and missionaries, and which by virtue of its position held the entire community in a sort of subjection peculiarly galling to men who honestly believed themselves to be the rightful sovereigns of the land. It was from this feeling that there was to come the change of conditions in Oregon which should substitute American rule and protection for that of Great Britain.

Soon after the arrival of the *Lausanne*, in the summer of 1840, the physician of the mission, Dr. Elijah White, severed his connections in Oregon and returned to the United States. When a little later the government decided to commission a sub Indian agent for Oregon, believing that this step would be wholly within its rights under the treaty of joint occupation, while the appointment of a civil governor might not be, Dr. White was offered this agency, and early in the spring of 1842 he prepared to return to Oregon with as many emigrants as he might be able to enlist. After an active campaign he gathered a company of about one hundred and twenty persons, with whom he made a successful journey to the Columbia during the summer.

Two other steps were taken by the government in 1842 for the settlement of the Oregon question. Senator Linn had brought in a new bill providing for the occupation of the Oregon country, the granting of lands to settlers, the extension of the laws of the United States over the territory, and the establishment of a line of forts along the most feasible route for emigrants. The idea contained in the last provision was partially carried into effect by the appointment of Frémont to find a route through the Rocky Mountains. This was the beginning of that series of "path finding" operations which led to such interesting results in California a few years later.

But Linn's bill of 1842 was not passed. It was withdrawn when, in the spring of 1842, the United States and Great Britain again opened negotiations for the purpose of settling all differences outstanding between them. It was confidently expected that the Oregon difficulty would be adjusted at this time, but when the treaty was concluded at Washington on the 9th of August, by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, it made no mention whatever of Oregon.

The public and private discussion of the Oregon question brought the advantages of that region to the attention of an ever widening circle of people. Oregon was known to have a productive soil and a climate peculiarly attractive to the farmer by reason of its uniform mildness. The settlers of Missouri and other western States, whose crops, for want of easy communication with markets, brought but slight returns, and for whose cattle there was almost no demand, learned that in this land, with ocean transportation, their grain would bring remunerative prices; and that their stock, living throughout the year on the rich prairie grasses, with little or no expense to the owners, would be worth four times the amount paid for it in western Missouri. Then, too, there were to be considered the opportunities for commerce, fishing and manufacturing.

The persistent "hard times" in the newer States of the West predisposed many to a change; and others, especially those living in the Southwestern States, saw in emigration to Oregon a chance to get away from the institution of slavery. Moreover, the excitement of a journey beyond the great mountains into a new country was a lure to the young and adventurous, who possessed the same spirit which had carried their fathers and grandfathers across the Alleghany barriers into the plains and valleys of the middle West. This motive must receive its share of consideration in the discussion of the settlement of the Oregon country.

When the spring of 1843 arrived, many persons in various parts of the West made ready for the journey to Oregon. The movement was largely individual, but efforts at

organization were not wanting. As early as September of the preceding year, correspondence committees in western Missouri were actively at work, and the names of intending emigrants were being enrolled. During the winter, while the Oregon question was under discussion in Washington, an emigration agent from Missouri was at hand to note results and to disseminate Oregon news throughout the West. This agent also made an effort to secure from the government a body of troops to escort the emigrants on their way to the Columbia.

Linn's bill had been brought forward once more, and on February 3, 1843, it passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-two. This was taken to ensure its enactment as a law, and the pioneers confidently expected the support of the government in their proposal to establish a new State on the Pacific. The bill was finally lost in the House, but not until the emigrating sentiment had grown so strong as not to be seriously affected.

Among the agencies most potent in fostering an emigrating spirit were the numerous meetings called for the purpose of influencing the Congressional vote on the Linn bill. Such gatherings occurred early in the spring at a number of Western towns, including Columbus and Chillicothe, Ohio, and Springfield, Illinois. At these meetings, resolutions were passed favoring the immediate occupation of the country, and reports were made which served to disseminate information concerning Oregon.

Prominent men who proposed to emigrate canvassed their communities, and, by public lectures, newspaper articles, and personal solicitation, induced others to make the venture with them. These efforts were of a recruiting and enlisting nature, though the object was peaceful conquest and not war. Sometimes an entire neighborhood or town would become interested, as was the case at Bloomington, Iowa, where public meetings were held, an emigrating company enlisted, necessary funds, provisions, and equipment carefully determined, and regulations adopted to govern the

emigrants on the march. Particularly in the central West the excitement was intense; it was called the "Oregon fever."

Parties of emigrants began to collect at Independence, Missouri, early in May, 1843, and by the 17th of the month a large body was assembled, with wagons, teams, loose cattle, and the usual personal effects. Several days were consumed in arranging for the start. A body of rules was adopted, a pilot elected, and the day of departure agreed on. Then this band of American State builders set their faces resolutely to the westward. "On the 22d of May," says Burnett, writing from the Willamette eight months later, "we commenced one of the most arduous and important trips undertaken in modern times."

Their first camp was at a spot in the prairie where were growing two elm trees, giving the name of Elm Grove to the place. Burnett wrote of this camp: "I have never witnessed a scene more beautiful than this. Elm Grove stands in a wide, gently undulating prairie. The moon shed her silvery light on the white sheets of sixty wagons; a thousand head of cattle grazed upon the surrounding plain; fifty camp fires sent up their brilliant flames, and the sound of the sweet violin was heard in the tents. All was stir and excitement."

Other groups joined the main party from time to time, until there was a total of one hundred and twenty wagons, nearly one thousand persons of all ages, and more than five thousand animals. After crossing Kansas River the party completed its organization by electing Peter H. Burnett captain, and J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant. But ten days later, Burnett having resigned, a change took place. Two companies were formed, one of which included the owners of most of the loose cattle, while the other travelled without much encumbrance from live stock. Jesse Applegate, the captain of the division composed of those who were cattle owners, has given, in his *Day with the Cow-Column*, a description of the march of the caravan which

will answer, in the main, for all the great migrations to Oregon and later to California:

"It is 4 o'clock A.M.; the sentinels on duty have discharged their rifles—the signal that the hours of sleep are over—and every wagon and tent is pouring forth its night tenants, and slow kindling smokes begin largely to rise and float away in the morning air. Sixty men start from the corral, spreading as they make through the vast herd of cattle and horses that make a semicircle around the encampment, the most distant perhaps two miles away.

"The herders pass the extreme verge and carefully examine for trails beyond, to see that none of the animals have strayed or been stolen during the night. This morning no trails lead beyond the outside animals in sight, and by five o'clock the herders begin to contract the great moving circle, and the well-trained animals move slowly towards camp, clipping here and there a thistle or a tempting bunch of grass on the way. In about an hour five thousand animals are close up to the encampment, and the teamsters are busy selecting their teams and driving them inside the corral to be yoked. The corral is a circle one hundred yards deep, formed with wagons connected strongly with each other; the wagon in the rear being connected with the wagon in front by its tongue and ox chains. It is a strong barrier that the most vicious ox cannot break, and in case of an attack from the Sioux would be no contemptible intrenchment.

"From six to seven o'clock is a busy time; breakfast is to be eaten, the tents struck, the wagons loaded, and the teams yoked and brought up in readiness to be attached to their respective wagons. All know when, at seven o'clock, the signal to march sounds, that those not ready to take their places in the line of march must fall into the dusty rear for the day.

"There are sixty wagons. They have been divided into fifteen divisions or platoons of four wagons each, and each platoon is entitled to lead in its turn. The leading platoon

to-day will be the rear one to-morrow and will bring up the rear unless some teamster, through indolence or negligence, has lost his place in the line and is condemned to that uncomfortable post. It is within ten minutes of seven; the corral but now a strong barricade is everywhere broken, the teams being attached to the wagons. The women and children have taken their places in them. The pilot (a borderer who has passed his life on the verge of civilization and has been chosen to the post of leader from his knowledge of the savage and his experience in travel through roadless wastes) stands ready, in the midst of his pioneers and aids, to mount and lead the way. Ten or fifteen young men, not to-day on duty, form another cluster. They are ready to start on a buffalo hunt, are well mounted and well armed, as they need to be, for the unfriendly Sioux have driven the buffalo out of the Platte, and the hunters must ride fifteen or twenty miles to find them. The cow drivers are hastening, as they get ready, to the rear of their charge to collect and prepare them for the day's march.

"It is on the stroke of seven; the rush to and fro, the cracking of whips, the loud command to oxen, and what seemed to be the inextricable confusion of the last ten minutes has ceased. Fortunately every one has been found and every teamster is at his post. The clear notes of a trumpet sound in the front; the pilot and his guards mount their horses; the leading divisions of the wagons move out of the encampment and take up the line of march; the rest fall into their places with the precision of clockwork, until the spot so lately full of life sinks back into that solitude that seems to reign over the broad plain and rushing river as the caravan draws its lazy length toward the distant El Dorado. . . .

"The pilot, by measuring the ground and timing the speed of his horses, has determined the rate of each so as to enable him to select the nooning place, as nearly as the requisite grass and water can be had at the end of five hours' travel of the wagons. To-day, the ground being

favorable, little time has been lost in preparing the road, so that he and his pioneers are at the nooning place an hour in advance of the wagons, which time is spent in preparing convenient watering places for the animals and digging little wells near the bank of the Platte. As the teams are not unyoked, but simply turned loose from the wagons, a corral is not formed at noon, but the wagons are drawn up in columns, four abreast, the leading wagon of each platoon on the left, the platoons being formed with that in view. This brings friends together at noon as well as at night.

"To-day an extra session of the council is being held, to settle a dispute that does not admit of delay, between a proprietor and a young man who has undertaken to do a man's service on the journey for bed and board. Many such engagements exist, and much interest is taken in the manner in which this high court, from which there is no appeal, will define the rights of each party in such engagements. The council was a high court in the most exalted sense. It was a senate composed of the ablest and most respected fathers of the emigration. It exercised both legislative and judicial powers, and its laws and decisions proved equal and worthy of the high trust reposed in it. Its sessions were usually held on days when the caravan was not moving. It first took the state of the little commonwealth into consideration; revised or repealed rules defective or obsolete, and enacted such others as the exigencies seemed to require. The common weal being cared for, it next resolved itself into a court to hear and settle private disputes and grievances. The offender and the aggrieved appeared before it; witnesses were examined and the parties were heard by themselves and sometimes by counsel. The judges being thus made fully acquainted with the case, and being in no way influenced or cramped by technicalities, decided all cases according to their merits. There was but little use for lawyers before this court, for no plea was entertained which was calculated to hinder or defeat the ends of justice.

Many of these judges have since won honors in higher spheres. They have aided to establish on the broad basis of right and universal liberty two pillars of our great republic in the Occident [California and Oregon]. Some of the young men who appeared before them as advocates, have themselves sat upon the highest judicial tribunals, commanded armies, been governors of States, and taken high positions in the Senate of the nation. . . .

"It is now one o'clock; the bugle has sounded and the caravan has resumed its westward journey. It is in the same order, but the evening is far less animated than the morning march; a drowsiness has fallen apparently on man and beast; teamsters drop asleep on their perches and even when walking by their teams, and the words of command are now addressed to the slowly creeping oxen in the soft tenor of women or the piping treble of children, while the snores of the teamsters make a droning accompaniment . . . the sun is now getting low in the west and at length the painstaking pilot is standing ready to conduct the train in the circle which he has previously measured and marked out, which is to form the invariable fortification for the night. The leading wagons follow him so nearly around the circle that but a wagon length separates them. Each wagon follows in its track, the rear closing on the front, until its tongue and ox chains will perfectly reach from one to the other, and so accurate the measure and perfect the practise, that the hindmost wagon of the train always precisely closes the gateway. As each wagon is brought into position it is dropped from its team (the teams being inside the circle), the team unyoked, and the yokes and chains are used to connect the wagon strongly with that in its front. Within ten minutes from the time the leading wagon halted, the barricade is formed, the teams unyoked and driven out to pasture. Every one is busy preparing fires of buffalo chips to cook the evening meal, pitching tents and otherwise preparing for the night. . . ." The watches "begin at 8 o'clock P. M., and end at 4 o'clock A. M."

Each of the two companies, into which this first large emigration was divided, had sixty wagons, which travelled within supporting distance of one another until the danger of Indian depredations was past. On entering the mountains it became increasingly difficult to maintain any sort of order, and the emigration moved forward in smaller squads, much as the individual teamsters were inclined.

More than three months had elapsed when, on the 27th of August, some of the companies reached Fort Hall on the eastern border of the Oregon country. They had encountered many difficulties, from straying cattle, violent tempests, and swollen streams; yet every day for a hundred days they had moved steadily forward. But, although two-thirds of the distance to the lower Columbia had been traversed, the troubles of the emigrants had hardly begun. To Fort Hall they had followed a well-marked trail, which made a most excellent natural road. From this point no path had been broken. It was believed, even on the frontiers, that loaded wagons could not be taken beyond Fort Hall.

It had been customary for the small Oregon parties of preceding years to leave their wagons there, and securing horses from the traders, to continue the journey to the Columbia along the pack trail. This company was so large that such a course was out of the question. It would have been impossible to obtain horses for more than a fraction of the women and children, and there was no alternative except to go forward with the loaded wagons, making the road and trusting to good guidance and the strength and enthusiasm of numbers to overcome obstacles encountered.

Marcus Whitman, the missionary pioneer who had taken the first wagon beyond Fort Hall in 1836, was with this party. He had left his mission early in October, 1843, and after a terrific winter journey, reached the headquarters of his society at Boston at the end of March. Shortly afterward he joined the emigrants to the West. Whitman urged a forward movement with the wagons, and agreed to

act as guide. His services to the emigrants had already been valuable, but from Fort Hall they were very essential to the success of the undertaking.

Pressing on at the best rate possible, with the jaded and footsore oxen, the party passed Fort Boise on the 20th of September, and by the 1st of October reached the beautiful valley of the Grand Ronde. Another ten days of rugged roads and storms brought the caravan to the borders of the Columbia at Whitman's station. Many were in need of food, and took the opportunity to purchase supplies at the mission. But within a few days the party was again on the way, eager to complete the last stage of the journey to the Willamette. Some went down by boat, leaving their cattle at Fort Walla Walla, while others drove their stock overland.

And so the first great movement of American families to the shores of the Pacific terminated successfully; and the heroic achievements of the American pioneer laid the foundations of a new State.

CHAPTER X

SETTLEMENT OF THE OREGON QUESTION

THE emigrants of 1843 were comparatively late comers to Oregon and when the history of the preceding half century is reviewed it may seem that too great honor has been accorded these pioneers. Gray's discovery of the river, Lewis and Clark's visit, Astor's project, the work of the fur traders, Smith, Wyeth, Bonneville, and the rest, the coming of missionaries, the beginnings of settlement in the fertile valley of the Willamette,—all these and other incidents were antecedent to the emigration of 1843, and the men and women concerned in them deserve to be remembered with gratitude. Yet there is a unique significance attaching to the emigration of 1843 that causes the event to stand out in the annals of the Northwest much as the landing of the Pilgrims, or the great emigration of Puritans under Winthrop, distinguished the early history of the Northeast coast. And the reason is the same, because each of these movements was a decisive event of history. Several navigators and a few adventurers had visited the Cape Cod region before the *Mayflower* anchored off that coast; a considerable number of Puritans and others had settled about Massachusetts Bay prior to 1630. But the mind instinctively fixes upon these two dates as crucial points in the evolution of New England.

So, future generations, in tracing the genesis of American communities upon our western seaboard, will recognize the

date 1843 as the turning point of early Oregon history because it guaranteed the permanence of the colony already begun, laid the sure foundation of the first organized government on the Pacific, and armed the administration with an effective argument in its contest with Great Britain. The emigrants realized the importance of their undertaking, as did also the people of the great valley whence they came. All had in mind the bearing of the facts of this year upon the settlement of the Oregon dispute. Burnett says: "We knew to a moral certainty, that the moment we brought our families, cattle, teams and loaded wagons to the banks of the Columbia in 1843, the question was practically decided in our favor." The Missouri newspapers dwelt upon the character of the emigrants and the distinguished abilities of many of their leaders, and prophesied the end of British encroachment on the shores of the Pacific.

The success of the party in taking their loaded wagons all the way to the Willamette, thus opening a practical wagon road, was the one necessary condition of the rapid peopling of the country. As already stated, when the emigrants left the frontier in the spring of 1843, the common opinion was that wagons thus freighted could not proceed beyond Fort Hall. On July 22, 1843, Greeley declared in the New York *Tribune:* "We shall be agreeably surprised and gratified to learn that three-fourths of this adventurous company have reached the lower falls of the Columbia alive. . . ., this emigration of more than a thousand persons in one body to Oregon wears an aspect of insanity." But if a team of ordinary work oxen, or even cows, could draw a wagon containing an emigrant's family and necessary supplies to the Willamette in a single season, Oregon was not a foreign land, indefinitely, almost infinitely, distant, and separated from the East by insurmountable geographic barriers. On the contrary, it was a contiguous territory, almost as accessible to the emigrant from Missouri or Illinois as was Texas to the South Carolinian, or Iowa to the settler from northern Vermont. Indeed, one of the party

of 1843 wrote back to a Missouri friend, declaring: "You can move here with less expense than you could to Tennessee or Kentucky."

One of the most important effects of the arrival of the reinforcement of 1843 was the full establishment of an American government in Oregon. During all the years since people from the East had begun to settle in the country, there had been no legal authority save that exercised by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. This condition was one not to be long tolerated by the missionaries and others from the United States; and with the arrival of a relatively large accession to the colony in 1840, sentiment favorable to a provisional government rapidly crystallized among the Americans.

The first step in the development of a political system was taken in 1841. Early in that year died Ewing Young, the adventurer who came to the valley with Kelley in 1834. He had thriven in a worldly way and at his death left a good farm and a large amount of live stock. There was no will and no known heirs, and the question arose as to the disposal of the property. Tradition asserts that the settlers who gathered at the funeral of Ewing Young initiated a call for a general meeting. At all events, on the 17th of February such a gathering was convened under the control of the Methodist missionaries. It provided for the formation of a committee of seven to draft a constitution and code of laws for the settlements south of the Columbia. The convention also declared that the benefits of the proposed government should be extended on application to persons north of the river not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. Various offices were determined upon and candidates nominated to fill them. The meeting then adjourned to the following day.

The assembly that met at the mission house on the 18th chose the committee decided upon the day before, making Father Blanchet chairman in order to secure the coöperation of the French settlers. A supreme judge with

probate powers, a clerk of courts and recorder, a high sheriff and three constables were also elected by the meeting. Then an adjournment was had to the second Tuesday in June. Meantime, on the 15th of April, Dr. Ira L. Babcock, the newly elected judge, appointed David Leslie administrator of Ewing Young's estate. This is, so far as is known, the first official act of the Oregon provisional government.

When the June meeting occurred it was found that the committee to draft a constitution and laws were delinquent. Father Blanchet had not called them together, doubtless because he was out of sympathy with the movement. He resigned his place, which was filled, and the committee instructed to meet on the first Monday in August, and to report to an adjourned meeting the first Tuesday in October following. In addition to these instructions the committee was required to confer with Lieutenant Wilkes and Dr. McLoughlin on the business confided to it. The result of the interview with Wilkes we have already considered. His decided opposition to the scheme, reinforced by that of McLoughlin and the Catholic party, was a prime cause of the failure of the Americans to carry out their programme. Another cause of failure was the difficulty of finding a governor who would be acceptable to all the social elements in the colony. Therefore, the whole matter was dropped for more than a year, to be revived in the spring of 1843.

In 1843, the settlers were losing many domestic animals through the rapacity of the wolves, bears, and panthers which infested the neighboring woodlands. This evil could be abolished only by common action, and a number of persons, assembled February 2d at the Oregon Institute, chose a committee to "notify a general meeting, report business, etc." On the second Monday in March, a convention of the settlers was held at the house of Joseph Gervais. The committee reported a series of resolutions, fixing bounties for the destruction of the various sorts of forest foes, creating a subscription fund to pay them, and officers to execute

the regulations. This being concluded, it was moved: "That a committee [of twelve] be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of the colony." This resolution was also passed.

It is hardly doubtful that this last resolution discloses the main reason for the meeting. Tradition reports that the question of a government had been much agitated during the preceding fall and winter, the settlers in their lyceum at Oregon City debating it with great interest. White's arrival with a large party of emigrants, and with a commission as sub agent for Indian affairs, stimulated the movement. Yet, only a part of the Americans seem to have favored it, while the foreigners were as unanimous as ever in their opposition. An address of "the Canadian citizens of Oregon," prepared about this time, set forth the ideas of these people or their leaders on the proposed measures. While very desirous of continuing the cordial relations then existing between them and the Americans, and willing to submit to any regulations which had been or might be adopted for the general good, they were opposed to a provisional government or to addressing another petition to the United States until a treaty of boundary had been concluded. They were confirmed in this attitude by McLoughlin and the fur company, who looked upon such a movement as detrimental to the rights of Great Britain.

On the 2d of May occurred the meeting at Champoeg at which the committee of twelve reported in favor of a provisional government. All factions were well represented, and interesting developments were looked for. On a motion to adopt the resolution, it appeared to be lost, when a division was ordered, either to test the matter more accurately or to allow opportunity for political strategy. We are told that Joe Meek was the first American to take his place on the affirmative side. He was a powerful and picturesque "mountain-man," whose personality was calculated to produce an effect on the ranks of the opposition. Marching

forward, he called out: "Who's for a divide! All in favor of the report and of an organization, follow me!" The result was close, but when the count was finally made, after half an hour of intense excitement, it was found that fifty-one had followed the big mountaineer, making the affirmative vote fifty-two, while only fifty were ranged in the opposite line. So the scheme of a provisional government was adopted.

The officers recommended by the committee were chosen forthwith. They included a supreme judge with probate powers, a clerk or recorder, a high sheriff,—this office being given to Joe Meek,—a treasurer, three magistrates, three constables, and a legislative committee of nine. In view of the contemplated military protection of the colony, a major and three captains of militia were added to the list of officers. The legislative committee was instructed to prepare a code of laws to be presented to the people on the 5th of July, 1843. This was done, and on the appointed day, the pioneers, who had gathered at Champoeg to celebrate Independence Day, ratified the provisions constituting the first provisional government. "We the people of Oregon Territory," so runs the preamble, "for purposes of mutual protection, and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." Into the "fundamental laws" of the Oregon provisional government were incorporated several articles from the Ordinance of 1787. Among others was one pledging the people to encourage "schools, and the means of education," and one declaring "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

There was provision for an executive committee of three, —the difficulty of choosing a governor being regarded as insuperable,—a legislative committee of nine, a supreme judge, probate judge and justices of the peace, a recorder,

and a treasurer. The officers chosen at the May meeting were continued in office till the following May. Portions of the Iowa code were designated as the laws of Oregon.

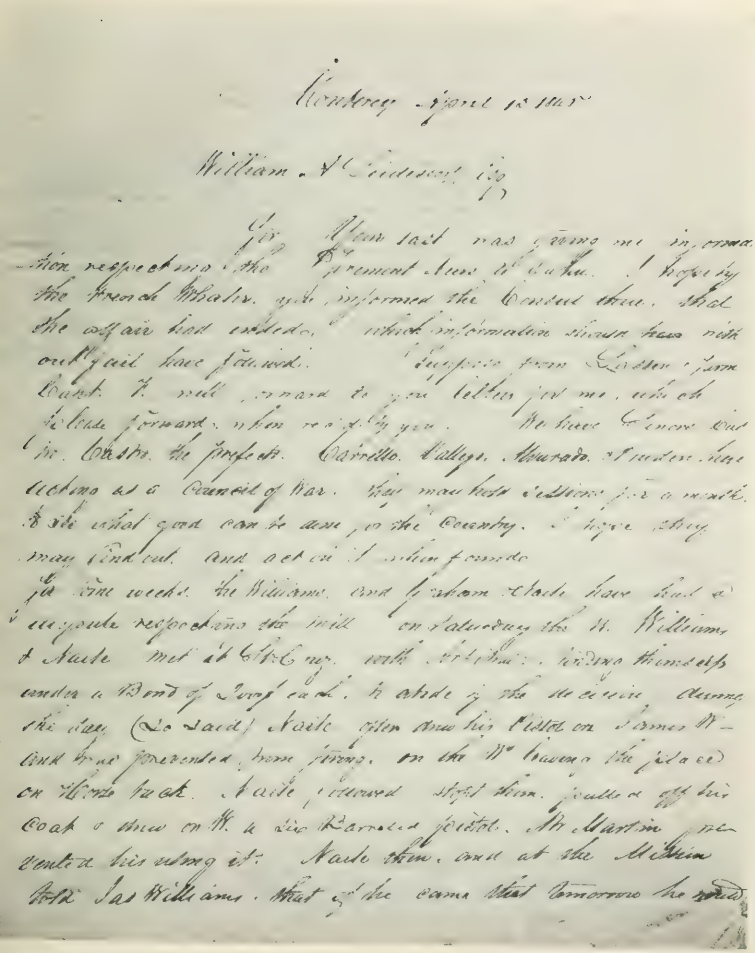
The greatest weakness of this provisional government was that it lacked a vigorous executive, and had no effectual means of raising a revenue for its own support, relying wholly on the uncertain expedient of voluntary contributions. And it was only by a great concession to the Catholic and Protestant missions that a government had been secured at all. These organizations were allowed to claim lands to the amount of six miles square.

After the arrival, in the fall of 1843, of the new emigrants the situation was greatly altered. The organization could be sustained with ease, for Americans were in a large majority. Able leaders, like Burnett, Applegate, Lovejoy, McCarver, and Nesmith were at hand to point out remedies for the defects of the provisional government. Indeed, the legislative committee during 1844 set itself the task of recasting the entire system. It abolished the executive committee in favor of the gubernatorial office, revised the judiciary law, and created a house of representatives in place of the legislative committee. These changes, with others initiated in June of the next year, were ratified by vote of a large majority of the people on the 26th of July, 1845. Convinced that no government could succeed without a revenue, the committee also passed a general taxation law, which was enforced by a provision denying to delinquents all political rights and all benefits of the organization. The land law was so changed as to abolish the concession to the missions, and confine to individual settlers the right of holding lands. This committee also passed an act to prohibit the liquor traffic, as well as a provision against slavery and free negroes. The organization of the provisional government was now completed, and in essentials it was similar to that of the majority of the States. Its efficiency was evidenced by the harmony, peace, and

contentment which prevailed among the Oregon people during their time of absolute self-dependence.

The emigrants of 1843 represented many different localities in the middle West, and some in the Eastern States. Their movements were thus a matter of interest to multitudes of people, and the news of their safe arrival was a stimulus to further emigration. On reaching the Willamette these settlers wrote favorably of the situation and prospects of the country. Burnett said: "The country exceeds my expectations, and certainly if man cannot supply all his wants here he cannot anywhere." Another wrote: "The prospect is quite good for a young man to make a fortune in this country, as all kinds of produce are high and likely to remain so from the extensive demand. The Russian settlements in Asia [Alaska]; the Sandwich Islands; a great portion of California, and the whaling vessels of the Northwest coast, procure their supplies from this place." McCarver declared: "Perhaps there is no country in the world of its size that offers more inducements to industry and enterprise than Oregon. The soil of this valley, and in many other parts of the territory, is equal to that of Iowa or any other portion of the United States, in point of beauty and fertility, and its productions in many articles are far superior, . . . The grain of the wheat is more than one-third larger than any I have seen in the United States." "The prairies of this region," said Tallmadge B. Wood, "are beautiful, full equal to any in Missouri or Illinois. . . . The land produces most all the productions of the States in great perfection, except corn. . . . For my part I am much pleased with the prospects of the country."

Such sentiments, finding their way first to the firesides of friends, then to the local printing office, and finally into the more widely read journals of the country, contributed largely to establish a favorable opinion of Oregon as a home for the pioneers. They were not received in time to affect the emigration of 1844, although by the spring of that



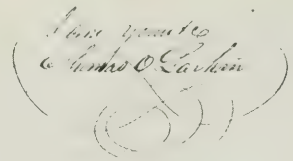
Letter, dated April 13, 1846, from Thomas O. Larkin to William A. Leidesdorff. *From the original in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.*

take his life Cadman Gatewood & Isaac Sides [illegible] not drunk. not cool and clear. told W. as necessary. [illegible] Rifle. [illegible] Today all the parties agree met at the mission Williams was there before Castle. when the latter was up the jumps on his horse. and under the horse's neck presented his Gun or Rifle. Jas. Williams. at the moment [illegible] and fired his ball went thro Castle's heart. who immediately fell. not one word before or afterwards past between them. - in 15 minute W. & his brother [illegible] left this mst- they left the Story as you now [illegible] it. and saw Castle lying dead where he fell.* at 5 or 6. this morning W. gave himself up to me. requesting a trial. for the murder. I called at this moment on Col. Castle. and took W. to the prison. where he is now confined: should the Code [illegible] as he represent it. he will have but little trouble. they say on Saturday the 8 [illegible] Cruz. Mick to court Castle. and from the last language of the latter. I do it let him alone.

We are looking for Bowie and Fisher - I am anxious for news. the Warrentable is expected here next week from S Diego - Capt Paty. Not letters to date [illegible] month & Capn for Boston to get to Acapulco. Took my word $ dollars for outlay - goods and service. Dr Sir. [illegible] quiet me Power of Att Sam. as he said he would do you see my Deeds made to [illegible] and [illegible] a few thousand on a friend - Capt P. offered me 5 per ct. to the Se county for Govt - could not think of it. So he told me to give

* Given dead

him so much, and make the balance which of course I oblige all parties I deal. And thereby friend it—



Apr. 11/46

I have taken from Capt. Comm. C. Grimes note back Note for $7,618.89 drawing from last year one per cent. should you not like the transfer. Mr. G. will leave the note a year should you having it. send you, please inform me. and when you want to take it up. if you wish you can send them by different boats from what you sent I shall be much in need of it in July and August. if you can lend me. good draft on home at 60 per cent discount I should like to take them — C.



year it was known on the frontier that the company of 1843 had made a successful journey to the Columbia.

Parties of emigrants aggregating about fourteen hundred souls left the frontier of Missouri in 1844 under the leadership of Colonel "Neil" Gilliam. The season was unusually wet, which greatly retarded their progress, so that the summer was more than half gone by the time they reached the mountains. Their supplies ran low and a party was hurried forward to take back provisions for the final stage of the journey. With much hardship, and even keen suffering, the straggling bands reached the Walla Walla, where the missionaries, and even Indians, contributed to relieve their pressing wants. A few stayed at the mission till spring, and seven children of one family, orphaned on the route by the death of both parents, were adopted by Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. Several families stayed at the Dalles. The remainder reached the Willamette, some in destitute circumstances and all too late to provide properly for their winter shelter and supplies. Hence much repining was heard among them. But, as one pioneer writes concerning these fresh arrivals, their discontent "only lasted during the winter. In the spring, when the clouds cleared away, and the grass and flowers sprang up beneath the kindling rays of a bright Oregon sun, their spirits revived with reviving nature; and by the succeeding fall they had themselves become old settlers and formed a part of us, their views and feelings, in the meantime, having undergone a total change."

The year 1845 is remarkable for the arrival of the largest emigration that reached the Columbia prior to the settlement of the boundary question. This great movement is traceable in part to the numerous letters from Oregon, in some measure to the election which placed James K. Polk in the White House, and partly to the restless pioneering spirit so fundamental in all the emigrations. Parties, large and small, converged upon the eastern end of the Missouri route early in the spring, and about the end of April the greater caravans began to move westward along the trail. One

of the emigrants writing, July 8th, from the upper crossing of the Platte, claimed to have personal knowledge of parties aggregating above six hundred wagons and twenty-five hundred persons, while still other groups were reported on the road. About one-third of the emigrants were men capable of bearing arms.

All crossed the Rocky Mountains in safety. At Fort Hall forty-six wagons turned off to California, the main party keeping down Snake River. When it reached Fort Boise the emigrants were met by Stephen H. L. Meek, who offered to guide them over a new route by way of Malheur River, which he represented to have great advantages over the old trail. About one hundred and fifty wagons followed him, with, as it proved, most disastrous results. The road, an old pack trail about which Meek knew little more than the emigrants, ran through a country the most barren, parched and desolate in all eastern Oregon. "Sometimes for several miles," says Samuel Hancock, "there would not have been more earth found than could have been carried in one's hat, the whole face of the country being covered with a medium sized stone or boulder just large enough to make it difficult to travel over them." Stock died for want of food and water, supplies ran low, and at last the party could go no further as a body, and finding a bit of grass and a small supply of water, established a temporary camp. For several days a hundred horsemen scoured the mountains in all directions for water, returning each night with the story of failure. Meantime, sickness fastened upon the camp, and daily deaths intensified the horrors of the situation.

Finally came the glad news that Meek had found an abundance of water. The joy of these sufferers knew no bounds. Even the cattle, it is declared, seemed reanimated by the new hope, travelling faster and enduring more, until the long-sought stream was reached. It proved to be a branch of Des Chutes River, and down this stream the emigrants made their way to the Dalles, finally reaching

the Willamette about forty days later than those who had taken the regular route. About seventy-five are said to have perished, and the names of thirty-four, mostly adults, were given to the eastern papers the next year. Excepting the ill-starred Donner party, to be mentioned later, this was the most fateful experience in the annals of far-west migration.

With the arrival of this reinforcement, which numbered about three thousand souls, the population of Oregon numbered more than six thousand. The great majority of these were still to be found in the lower part of the Willamette valley. Yamhill, Clackamas, Champoeg, Tualatin, and Clatsop were the names of the five counties of 1845, shown by the election returns to have a voting strength of five hundred and four. The next year the same territory, with the county of Polk added, polled a total of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, Champoeg alone casting eight hundred and sixty-four. Clatsop at this time had but fourteen, the new county, Polk, had ninety-seven, while the other three showed about two hundred and fifty each.

A significant feature of this election of 1846 is the participation of a new county, Vancouver, which comprised the region north of Columbia River. Two facts account for the extension of American jurisdiction over this disputed territory: the expansion of American settlement to Puget Sound, and the acceptance of the provisional government by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The relations of the British and Americans in Oregon reflect the main features of the diplomatic controversy of earlier years. The Hudson's Bay people always assumed that their government would hold the country north of the river, while the Americans were equally certain of their rights at least as far north as the forty-ninth parallel. These theories caused the Hudson's Bay Company to attempt to prevent Americans taking land north of the Columbia line. The policy succeeded for a time, partly on account of the dependent condition of the settlers, and partly because of the superior

attractions of the country to the south. But as arrivals grew more numerous, and the choicest lands in the valley were occupied, a few Americans cast envious eyes upon the large and well-tilled fields about Vancouver, whose occupants they regarded as interlopers. McLoughlin well knew that such sentiments prevailed, in spite of his uniform kindness to the emigrants, and after the great influx of 1843 he took some measures to protect the company's property.

But with the appearance of the emigration of 1844 trouble began. Many of the newcomers, even the leaders, were violently prejudiced against the company, which, to their minds, represented the grasping British government and its designs upon American rights in the far Northwest. They believed it their duty, according to the teaching of great men at home, to defeat the machinations of the great foreign monopoly, even if a resort to the rifle were necessary. Most of this company, on arriving in Oregon, crossed at once to the Willamette as their predecessors had done, but a few remained at a winter camp near Vancouver. Toward spring two of these men marked out claims for themselves within half a mile of the fort. With some difficulty, McLoughlin prevailed on the Americans to give up their illegal purpose of "jumping" a part of the Hudson's Bay claim, and in this act he was sustained by the more conservative settlers, and officially by the Oregon government.

Prior to this occurrence, in the fall of 1844, Michael T. Simmons and a few others of the same emigration undertook to explore the country to Puget Sound, but returned without reaching their destination. In the summer of 1845, Simmons and six others made a second attempt, ascending Cowlitz River to the head of navigation, and penetrating thence to the Sound. Besides the large farm already opened in that region by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, the explorers found one cabin belonging to John R. Jackson, an American who had taken a claim on the divide between the Cowlitz and Puget Sound waters. Pleased with the commercial prospects of the great inland sea, Simmons

returned for his family, and in October settled, with four other families and two single men, in the vicinity of Olympia. This was the beginning of a new and independent community, because the Puget Sound region was separated so widely from the Willamette by river, swamp, mountain, and forest that no permanent union with the older section of Oregon could be looked for.

While the pioneers of the northern movement were hewing their path through sixty miles of tangled forest, events in the south brought the Americans and the British company into temporary political harmony. McLoughlin had failed to secure from Great Britain the protection deemed necessary for the safety of the company's interests at Vancouver, and the establishment was at the mercy of the rapidly growing American colony.

So long as no Americans resided north of the river the company's authority sufficed for that region, and no serious efforts were made by the Oregon people to compel a recognition of their laws by the British. The events after 1844 showed clearly the necessity of better relations between the government and the company. When, therefore, overtures were made to McLoughlin and his associates to join the temporary government, many weighty reasons favored compliance with the invitation, but there was one barrier. This was the matter of taxes. If the company were forced to pay on its entire property as the settlers did, the latter would be largely freed from the burden of supporting their government. But a compromise was effected; the company was required to pay taxes only on the goods sold to the settlers, and on the 15th of August McLoughlin and Douglas acceded to the articles of compact. Thus the protection of the provisional government was given to the great properties of the British Company in Oregon.

This incident, better than any other single instance, shows the progress of American interests in the country. For nearly a quarter of a century the British fur company had dominated all the concerns of the Pacific Northwest.

It controlled the trade, regulated the relations of the Indian tribes, and established arbitrary justice between man and man. It forced American traders from the field by its economic superiority, although it chose to become the patron of struggling missionaries and farmers. Then came the great inrush of American settlers and directly the relations were reversed. The former patron accepts patronage, the protector of the early pioneer receives the protection of the pioneer's government.

We have seen how, after a long interval, diplomatic negotiations concerning Oregon were again expected in the summer of 1842, and that nothing was done. But during the winter of 1842–1843 great excitement prevailed in the West over a report that Webster was planning to turn over the part of Oregon north of the Columbia to Great Britain, provided she would use her influence with Mexico to help us to buy northern California. That the rumor was not wholly unfounded is shown by many facts, although Webster later seemed to deny that the government had ever thought of yielding any part of its claim south of forty-nine. The refusal of Mexico to consider the transfer of California stopped whatever negotiations there may have been with Great Britain.

In view, however, of a recurrence of such a danger, the people of the Western States petitioned for the passage of the Linn bill, and when this failed, brought about an organized movement which resulted in making the Oregon question an issue in the campaign of 1844. The agitation began in Columbus, Ohio, where a public meeting declared in favor of a convention "of the Western and Southwestern States and Territories" to urge upon Congress the immediate occupation of Oregon, and to lay plans to bring about such occupation "whether the government acts or not in the matter."

The Cincinnati convention of July, 1843, growing out of the Columbus movement, was a remarkable gathering in many ways. Representatives appeared from at least six

States, to the number of nearly one hundred. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, presided; and letters were read from distinguished men in various parts of the valley, who found it impossible to be present in person. Among them was one from the Hon. Lewis Cass, who declared: "I would not yield one inch to her [Great Britain's] pretensions. . . . I would have no red lines upon the map of Oregon." The convention adopted ringing resolutions affirming the undoubted right of the Union to the entire territory west of the Rockies, from the parallel of forty-two degrees to the line of fifty-four degrees forty minutes. This principle was adopted by the Democratic convention of 1844, almost as a matter of course, in view of the proceedings at Cincinnati, which showed the temper of the West on the question, and thus the slogan "fifty-four-forty-or-fight" became a feature in the campaign which elevated Polk to the presidency.

President Tyler, meantime, reluctantly yielded to the pressure from the West, and made renewed efforts through Secretaries Upshur and Calhoun to reach an agreement with Great Britain on the compromise line of forty-nine, but again with no avail. He went out of office in March, 1845, with this "one wish remaining unfulfilled," and turned the Oregon question over to his successor. President Polk declared in his inaugural address that the United States had an undoubted title to the whole of the Oregon country. It was feared this might make a settlement of the question impossible and bring on war. However, the negotiations then pending were continued on the basis of compromise. The British representative proposed that the question be submitted to arbitration, but the proposal was declined. The president then offered the line of forty-nine degrees, in spite of the platform declaration for "fifty-four-forty." This was not accepted by the British minister, and the president withdrew the offer, intimating that any further propositions would have to come from the other side, the United States henceforth having nothing to offer. Polk, in December, asked Congress for authority to terminate the treaty of joint occupation

by giving the required year's notice, and the permission was granted; but many members of Congress besought the president to make it as easy as possible for Great Britain to suggest a compromise measure. He agreed to submit to the Senate, for advice, any proposition that might be forthcoming. At last, in June, 1846, the concession came in the shape of a project for a treaty on the basis of the forty-ninth parallel; and the Senate, by a large majority, advised the president to accept it. Thereupon the treaty was concluded, and on June 15, 1846, the Oregon question was settled.

Little need be said in justification of this transaction. It has often been pointed out that the settlement of the question on the basis of the forty-ninth parallel involved a violation of the president's pledge to his party to insist on the "whole of Oregon," as the term was then understood. He had been careful, however, to throw the responsibility upon the Senate, where a struggle ensued between the conservative Democrats, who desired peace even at the cost of compromise, and the radicals, who demanded strict compliance with party promises although such a policy might lead to war. In the end, a combination of the conservative Democrats with the Whigs enabled the administration to make and confirm the treaty.

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Cœur d'Alêne mission, west of the Rocky Mountains.

From the lithograph after the drawing by C. Sohon, published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, in 1863.

CHAPTER XI

END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In Oregon the first intimation that the treaty with Great Britain was secured, came through the Hudson's Bay Company on November 3, 1846. The settlers supposed that a Territorial government would at once be established, and the laws and jurisdiction of the United States extended over them, but in this they were disappointed. The president asked that such steps might be taken, but Congress closed without action. In his second annual message, December, 1846, Polk recommended the establishment of a Territorial government for Oregon, the granting of liberal portions of the public lands to settlers, and the creation of Indian agencies, custom houses, post offices, and post roads for that region. A bill on the subject, prepared by Stephen A. Douglas, passed the House, but in the Senate it was tabled through the influence of Calhoun.

The slavery question was the rock upon which the Oregon bill was wrecked. It is to be remembered that the laws of the provisional government contained an article, copied from the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery. This article was incorporated in the bill for Territorial organization, and aroused the opposition of the South. It was not expected that Oregon would become a slave State, but at this time the South was alert in defence of slavery, and denied that the institution constitutionally could be shut out of a Territory of the United States.

The president was so anxious to assure the Oregon people of his interest in them, that he caused a letter to be written by Secretary Buchanan explaining the situation, and expressing the conviction that the matter would receive attention from the next Congress, as it certainly would from the executive. The reason for the Senate's failure to pass the bill is not to be found in Buchanan's statement; but about the same time a letter was written by Senator Benton fixing responsibility for the opposition upon Calhoun, but assuring the Oregonians that their bill will become law with the anti-slavery article in it. "You will not be outlawed," he declared, "for not admitting slavery. . . . I promise you this in the name of the South, as well as of the North; and the event will not deceive me." The outlook was discouraging to the people who had "petitioned" and "prayed" for governmental protection for almost a decade. The neglect was particularly unfortunate at that time, when indications pointed to the probability of difficulties with some of the up-river tribes of Indians.

President Polk returned to the Oregon subject in his third annual message, December 7, 1847, renewing the recommendations made to the preceding Congress. The result promised to be similar, opposition again being directed to the anti-slavery provision. But before the end of the session events had occurred in Oregon which defeated the schemes of the obstructionists, and gave Oregon a Territorial government. These events were the Indian outrages.

While western Oregon, from the upper Willamette to Puget Sound, was receiving constant accretions to its American population, the missionaries on the upper Columbia were still waging war upon superstition and barbarism. We have seen how, during the first years of their residence among the interior tribes, these men and women gained the confidence of the Indians, somewhat improved the prevailing mode of life, and implanted in a few minds the seeds

of moral and religious culture. But by degrees the novelty of civilized ways wore off, and the natives began to find their new responsibilities irksome. It was the old story, whose chief moral is that a people cannot be transformed with anything like the rapidity deemed desirable by their instructors.

But in this case there were complications. As soon as the Protestant missions were well established among certain of the tribes, French missionaries of the Jesuit order came to the country and began to teach and preach. Their methods differed widely from those of the Presbyterians, and the Catholic ceremonial appealed strongly to the Indians. Many of the natives who had been instructed by the Americans either attended the Catholic worship, or learned of the solemn ceremony of the Mass, the glittering censer and its sweet odors, and the baptismal font and the vessel of holy water from those who had done so. The result was to spread doubts as to the correctness of the Protestant teaching. This effect was augmented by the presence in the country of a few Americans who influenced the Indians against missionaries.

When the American Board at Boston received discouraging reports concerning the progress and prospects of the Oregon missions from persons who had been connected with them, it decided in the spring of 1842 to discontinue the southern branch, including Waiilatpu and Lapwai. When news of this action was brought to Dr. Whitman in September, he called a meeting of the missionaries, who voted against giving up these stations, and authorized the superintendent to return to the United States in the interest of the mission. Whitman hoped to induce the board to rescind its action, and to foster the emigration of Christian families to Oregon, who, by settling near the stations, two or three in a place, would be able to give them much support. Whitman was successful in securing permission to continue the southern stations, and the missions continued for five years longer.

These events were the occasion of Whitman's famous ride to Washington and Boston, which has often occupied undue prominence in books on Oregon history. The authentic facts are these: On October 3d, immediately after the missionary meeting, Whitman departed from Waiilatpu in company with A. L. Lovejoy, hoping to cross the mountains before winter set in, a feat which he could easily have accomplished under ordinary circumstances. But at Fort Hall he learned that the Indians along the trail to the eastward were hostile, and to avoid them he took the southern route to Taos and Bent's Fort. While making this long detour the travellers experienced the biting cold and terrific storms of a Rocky Mountain winter, and nearly perished before reaching Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. Lovejoy remained at the fort until summer, but Whitman pushed on to St. Louis, and thence to Washington, New York, and Boston.

Whitman did all in his power to arouse interest upon the subject of Oregon, and at Washington he tried to secure the passage of a law for creating a line of fortified farming stations along the route, to protect emigrants against Indian marauders, and also to furnish needed supplies of food. This, had it been enacted, would have promoted the settlement of the country. His great service to the emigrants with whom he made the return journey, in the summer of 1843, has already been mentioned.

When Whitman returned to the mission station after an absence of twelve months, he found that some malicious Indians had burned his mill and committed other outrages. He was able, however, to bring back something of the old time prosperity. Most of the Indians gave him a hearty welcome, and this encouraged Whitman to hope for greater success than formerly. Mr. Spalding, of the Lapwai station, wrote in July, 1843, that "the cause of religion and of civilization has steadily advanced among this people from the beginning," and gave facts showing substantial progress so far as his station was concerned. Twelve communicants,

fifty hopeful probationers, sixty families with crops of grain averaging more than one hundred bushels, increasing herds of cattle, a school which had increased from one hundred to two hundred and thirty-four in a single season, and in which the great men as well as the children of the tribe were learning to write,—these are some of the evidences of prosperity among the Nez Percés.

But, on the whole, the task before the missionaries was never cheering, and tended to become more disheartening with each year. The Indians were becoming more troublesome and dangerous; increasing numbers of the mission Indians joined the Catholic church. At the close of the year 1845, it seemed as if the only chance for the survival of the Protestant mission was in the introduction of Christian families into the region about the stations, according to the plan Whitman had proposed as early as 1842. But the tribes did not want settlers, and the desirable emigrants preferred to go to the Willamette, where they found more prosperous conditions and better school facilities.

The situation in the fall of 1847 was extremely gloomy. Dr. Whitman had been warned in various ways that the Indians meditated an attack upon him, but such rumors were not unfamiliar, and up to that time no personal violence had been attempted, however insolent the natives might have appeared.

The chief source of the ill feeling rising to a murderous pitch among the Indians was a suspicion which they now began to harbor against Dr. Whitman. Many of the emigrants from the East were suffering with measles, and the scourge was communicated to the natives, among whom it spread rapidly and became especially virulent, because of their unsanitary mode of life. Among the Cayuses, who lived nearest the mission, deaths occurred almost daily, and the greatest distress prevailed. It is said that nearly one-third of this tribe succumbed. Day after day the doctor entered their lodges to administer medicines and relieve the suffering as best he could, but in so doing only

augmented the suspicions of the Indians, for the natives noticed that white children recovered from the disease while nearly all of their own sick died. With a little assistance from Joe Lewis, a half-breed whom Whitman had especially befriended, they drew the inference that Whitman was poisoning them in order to get their lands, a view which the presence of many emigrants at the station seemed to confirm. Indians have but one remedy for evils of this character, whether real or only imagined, as in the present case.

On the afternoon of November 29, 1847, at about one o'clock, the work of death was begun by the slaughter of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman and seven other persons. To this list five more were added later. Several others were attacked but escaped. All the women and children who remained, about fifty in number, were taken captive and held for some time at Waiilatpu to insure the Cayuses against the revenge of the white settlers from down the river. At the first sign of war they were all to be put to death. But at this crisis the Hudson's Bay Company came to the rescue. When the news of the massacre reached Vancouver, Peter Skeen Ogden pushed through from the post at utmost speed to save the prisoners. By dint of his great personal influence among the Indians and by the use of all the authority belonging to the fur company, Ogden succeeded in ransoming not only the Waiilatpu captives, but also the Spalding mission family at Lapwai. The total number of persons thus saved was fifty-seven. They were taken first to Fort Walla Walla and thence were sent down the river in boats and distributed among friends in the Willamette valley. There they were later joined by the missionaries from the northern station.

When the disaster first became known to the settlers on the Willamette, on December 8th, they were alarmed for the safety of the colony, which it was feared would be plunged into a war with all the interior tribes. The leaders wisely resolved that in such an event the best policy would be to

invade the Indian country rather than risk bringing the fagot and the scalping-knife upon the settlements. Either alternative would involve great dangers and sacrifices, but action was not delayed on that account. In profound grief, anxiety, and indignation the people of Oregon turned to face this new and greatest evil which a dilatory Congress had permitted to overtake them.

The legislature at once asked Governor Abernethy to raise a company of riflemen for the defence of the Dalles station, a point of peculiar strategic importance in case of meditated invasion. Such was the popular excitement and enthusiasm that these troops were enlisted the same day. On the next day they were officered, given such equipment as the colony afforded, and hurried forward by way of Vancouver. At the same time the executive was authorized to raise a regiment of volunteers.

The provisional government had no war chest from which to finance its military operations, and it was necessary to seek a loan from the Hudson's Bay Company. Under their rules this could not be granted, but the same end was attained indirectly by the purchase of military supplies at Vancouver on the personal notes of settlers. Other loans were advanced by private individuals within the colony and by the Methodist mission. With this help, and by the expedient of asking contributions of food from the farmers, the volunteers were fitted out and kept in the field during the war.

While many of the privates and some of the officers engaged in the Indian war were animated by the motive of revenge, the great object of the war was to show the Indians that such crimes as the Cayuses had committed would not be allowed to go unpunished. From their experience with defenceless emigrants, the natives had gained a contemptible idea of the fighting qualities of Americans, and this was to be corrected before there could be safety for the community. Since it was desirable to limit the scope of the war as much as possible, a peace commission accompanied the

army to negotiate with the Indians and secure the neutrality of as many as possible, in order to make it comparatively easy to force the Cayuses to surrender over the murderers for punishment.

Skirmishes occurred as soon as the advance company reached the Dalles. When Colonel Gilliam arrived with the main body of troops, he took up the march into the Indian country. A brush with the Cayuses on the Umatilla in February was followed by an advance to Waiilatpu, where early in March the commissioners made peace with the Nez Percés. More fighting of a desultory character took place in the effort to capture the murderers, and, by an unfortunate accident, Colonel Gilliam was killed. Finally, after a campaign of nearly five months, most of the up-river Indians were again at peace with the colony, whose fighting men had compelled their respect. The Cayuse tribe had been terribly punished, so that it never regained its former prestige; and although the murderers were still at large, their property had been confiscated and a reward offered which it was foreseen would result in the capture and delivery of the guilty ones to the Oregon authorities. Most of the volunteers were disbanded as early as July 5th. A few remained east of the mountains to garrison the forts at Waiilatpu and the Dalles, and to protect caravans by patrolling the road.

It will be profitable to recount the efforts of the Oregon people, at the outbreak of the Indian troubles, to secure aid from the United States. One of the first acts of the provisional government, after initiating the military preparations, was to provide for sending a special messenger to Washington to carry dispatches and solicit assistance from the president and Congress. This mission was confided to Joseph L. Meek, the mountaineer who had so successfully led the American line on the question of organization four years before, and who, since that time, had served the colony as high sheriff. Meek was instructed by Governor Abernethy to go first to California, deliver dispatches to the commander


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Caricature, "Ultimatum on the Oregon Question," published in 1846. *From a lithograph in the Library of Congress, Washington.*

of the American Pacific squadron, and then proceed to Washington. It was hoped that a warship might be sent to the Columbia for the defence of Oregon. But Meek, using his own discretion, accompanied the troops to the Indian country, intending, as he declared, to take Frémont's trail to the south from the Dalles. The governor, impatient of delay, and convinced that Meek contemplated breaking his instructions, dispatched Jesse Applegate as special messenger to California. His party, however, failed in its attempt to pass the Siskiyous, whose gulches were filled with snow to a great depth, and the expedition had no other effect than to afford Meek an excuse for taking the route he preferred.

It was March 4th when the special messenger to the United States, accompanied by nine stalwart frontiersmen, left Waiilatpu and took the most direct route to Fort Hall, being escorted one day's journey by a company of troops. In spite of the deep snows in the Blue Mountains and the wintry storms which swept the summit of the Rockies, the party arrived safely at St. Joseph, Missouri, on May 11th, having made the journey in sixty-six days. They found the spring emigration for Oregon already started, meeting two hundred and forty wagons, some of them more than a hundred miles out from the Missouri. Meek reached St. Louis by steamboat on the 17th, and then the news of the Whitman massacre found its way to every farm and fireside of the country, creating such concern for the Oregon people as nothing in their earlier history had been able to arouse.

The Western newspapers were prompt to lay the blame for this calamity, with all the ills likely to flow from it, upon the national Congress, which for partisan and sectional reasons had prevented the organization of Oregon Territory and the dispatch of a military force for its protection. Immediately after Meek's arrival at Washington, May 28th, President Polk sent a special message to Congress, communicating the official intelligence from the Pacific, with the memorial prepared by the Oregon legislature. The president

urged prompt action on the Territorial bill then pending, in order that assistance might be hurried forward before the winter snows should obstruct the passage of the mountains. A delay of another year might, he feared, "prove destructive to the white settlements in Oregon."

The memorial of the provisional government, written during the exciting days of December, presented the cause of the colonists in a strong light. "Having called upon the government so often in vain," so began the appeal, "we have almost despaired of receiving its protection, yet we trust that our present situation, when fully laid before you, will at once satisfy your honorable body of the necessity of extending the strong arm of guardianship and protection over this distant, but beautiful, portion of the United States' domain. Our relations with the proud and powerful tribes of Indians residing east of the Cascade mountains, hitherto uniformly amicable and pacific, have recently assumed quite a different character. They have shouted the warwhoop, and crimsoned their tomahawks in the blood of our citizens. . . . Circumstances warrant your memorialists in believing that many of the powerful tribes . . . have formed an alliance for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against our settlements. . . . To repel the attacks of so formidable a foe, and protect our families and property from violence and rapine, will require more strength than we possess . . . we have a right to expect your aid, and you are in justice bound to extend it. . . . If it be at all the intention of our honored parent to spread her guardian wings over her sons and daughters in Oregon, she surely will not refuse to do it now, when they are struggling with all the ills of a weak and temporary government, and when perils are daily thickening around them, and preparing to burst upon their heads. When the ensuing summer's sun shall have dispelled the snow from the mountains, we shall look with glowing hopes and restless anxiety for the coming of your laws and your arms."

Two Oregon bills were at this time before Congress. Douglas, then a member of the upper house, was the author of the Senate bill, and he had been trying for more than a month to secure action upon it. Two days after the reception of the special message it was taken up, and then ensued a long and dreary discussion over the slavery question which had caused the failure of the bill in the preceding Congress. After six weeks of agitation, marked by a great deal of theorizing about slavery in the Territories, a compromise was proposed which dropped the anti-slavery article from the bill, yet allowed the Oregon people to retain their laws on the subject. At the same time bills were brought in to organize New Mexico and California, with no power whatever to act on the question of slavery.

Although some objected to thus yoking the "native born" Territory of Oregon with "Territories hardly a month old, and peopled by Mexicans and half Indian Californians," the measure was adopted. But on reaching the House it was tabled. There another bill, containing the prohibition article on slavery, had previously received considerable discussion, and on the 2d of August it was passed by the decisive majority of fifty-eight. Going to the Senate it precipitated another slavery debate which fortunately was soon terminated. In spite of the most determined efforts of the Calhoun party to defeat this bill it was finally passed, after a continuous session of twenty-one hours, at half-past nine o'clock Sunday morning, August 13, 1848. The vote on engrossing, which was the test of its strength, stood thirty-three to twenty-two.

During the whole period of the Oregon debate feeling ran high, and many prophecies and even threats of disaster to the Union were uttered by Southern men. It is not an exaggeration to say that this discussion, with the Free-soil victory with which it ended, initiated the general slavery struggle running through the California debate, the compromise of 1854, the Kansas dispute, and culminating in the secession movement of 1860. When men could

declare, as did Senator Butler, of South Carolina, that they would advise their constituents "to assert their rights with arms in their hands, and take possession of the land" in the Territories, no matter what the laws were, a crisis was clearly impending.

President Polk showed that he appreciated the gravity of the situation by sending to Congress, contrary to custom, a message containing in full his reasons for signing the bill. The Missouri Compromise had been adopted as a means of settling the question of slavery in the Territories. It provided that States carved out of the region to the north of the parallel of thirty-six-thirty, in the Louisiana territory, should be dedicated to freedom. The Texas compromise definitely permitted the establishment of slavery in the region south of that line. Since that boundary, if extended to the Pacific, would leave Oregon far to the north, the president felt bound to sign the Oregon bill. Had the territory in question lain south of thirty-six-thirty, he might have decided otherwise. In brief, he rested on the Missouri Compromise principle as a permanent solution of the problem of slavery in the Territories. "Ought we at this day," he says, "in attempting to annul what has so long been established and acquiesced in, to excite sectional divisions and jealousies, to alienate the people of the different sections of the Union from each other, and to endanger the existence of the Union itself?" He closed the message with Washington's significant warning against sectional strife.

The people of Oregon, meantime, were awaiting the outcome of Congressional deliberations. When the emigrants began to arrive early in September, they brought news that Meek had reached the frontier in May, and also that the House of Representatives had set June 4th for the discussion of the Oregon bill. This would enable the messenger to be present in Washington to influence the vote, and all believed the result would prove favorable. Disquieting rumors that the bill had failed were brought to the Columbia by one of the vessels arriving just before the end of the year;

but on January 25, 1849, the Oregon *Spectator* published definite information that a Territorial bill had passed, and that General Joseph Lane had been appointed governor.

More than five months previous to this date, August 9, 1848, four days before the passage of the Oregon bill, came other tidings of greatest import, not only to Oregon and the Pacific coast, but to the entire nation and to the civilized world. Gold had been discovered in California, on a branch of Sacramento River! A new era in Western history was about to open. Oregon, the pioneer community on the Pacific, so long the centre of American interest and influence in that quarter of the globe, gave place in the popular mind to that new commonwealth, which sprang into being almost in an instant upon the shores of the Pacific.

CHAPTER XII

MISSION DAYS IN CALIFORNIA

The strongest impulse to the occupation of California came from the Spanish inspector Galves. He it was who planned the fortifying of the harbors of San Diego and Monterey and who joined the Franciscans of the California peninsula in preparing for the conversion of the northern Indians by the planting of missions among them.

Immediately after the founding of the mission of San Diego in 1769, there was undertaken the first noteworthy exploration of the interior of California, under Governor Portolá. It had been the intention of this leader to sail north from San Diego and so reach Monterey by sea, but owing to the severe buffeting sustained by the fleet on the way to San Diego, and the ravages of scurvy, which left only a few of the sailors fit for duty, this plan was abandoned. One of the ships, the *San Antonio*, was therefore sent to San Blas for supplies and reinforcements which she was to bring as quickly as possible to Monterey and succor the land party, which should have reached that port upon the vessel's return from the south.

This land party consisted of sixty-four persons including soldiers, laborers, friars, and Lower California Indians. It traversed the region west of the coast range of mountains, crossing the pleasant valleys and plains of the Los Angeles district, and passing down the line of Santa Clara River to the sea coast; thence it marched westward along Santa Barbara Channel. The most toilsome portion of the journey

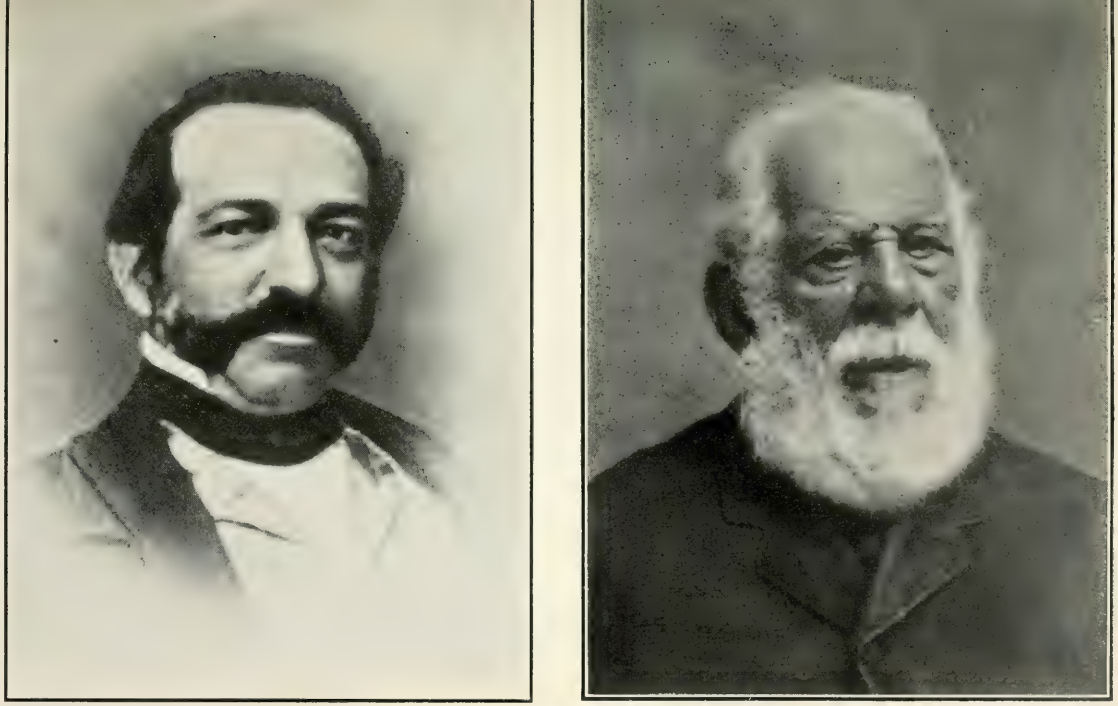
was that from the coast near Santa Barbara across the mountains to the Salinas Valley; but the river once reached, no further difficulties were encountered and the expedition reached the ocean at Monterey Harbor in safety.

Monterey had been visited and particularly described by Vizcaino in 1602–1603, and his description had been popularized by later writers. Yet, although this information, which should have enabled them to identify the spot, was in the hands of the party, they were not convinced that the indentation at the mouth of the Salinas was the place they were seeking. It was decided, therefore, to continue northward, hoping in this way to find the bay and the ship which was daily expected, for it was the 4th of October and the party had been on its way almost three months. Marching northward near the coast, the expedition reached on the 31st of October an elevated position in about latitude thirty-seven degrees thirty-one minutes, from which they beheld a wooded point to the northwest. This they recognized as Point Reyes, described by navigators as marking the insignificant port now called Drake's Bay.

Two days later, on the 2d of November, a few of the men climbed one of the higher hills in the neighborhood, and from its summit beheld, spreading out before them, a magnificent inland sea. Thus for the first time did civilized men gaze upon the great bay of San Francisco, and its beautiful portal, the Golden Gate.

Portolá's company explored the shores of the bay to its southeastern extremity; then recrossed the mountains and made their way southward. On the shore of Monterey harbor they set up a cross, and at its foot buried a note, hoping that the *San Antonio* might touch there and learn that the land party had come and gone, and then these pioneer explorers of California retraced their course to San Diego, arriving there January 24, 1770.

The governor was disheartened by the conditions existing at the mission. No ship had arrived; supplies were almost exhausted; the mission had made no perceptible progress



Two portraits of Pio Pico.

From originals in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.



in converting the natives, and early in the summer had even sustained a hostile attack from them. It seemed to Portolá that nothing remained but to abandon San Diego before greater miseries were experienced, and to return to the south. He fixed on the 20th of March for the execution of this plan, unless succor should arrive in the meantime.

The friars, zealous for the conquest and conversion of this great region, steadfastly opposed the resolution of the governor and prayed for the intercession of the saints. As the date set for the departure drew nigh they redoubled their supplications, and on the 19th of March the fathers are said to have spent the entire day upon the hills overlooking San Diego Bay, engaged in passionate devotions; for this day would settle the fate of the Church in California. As the shadows of evening were gathering over the bay, a sail appeared in the offing, heading for the harbor. It was the *San Antonio*, laden with supplies. Captain Perez had learned from the Santa Barbara Indians that the land party had gone south, had turned the ship about and arrived off San Diego at the opportune moment.

San Diego being now supplied, Governor Portolá made haste to return to the place on the northern coast where his party had set up the cross, and which it was now agreed was the harbor of Monterey. The *San Antonio* sailed April 16th, bearing the president of the mission, Father Junipero Serra; while Portolá set out with a land party of twenty-nine men on the following day. These reached Monterey on the 24th of May, the ship coming in on the 31st. On the 3d of June, 1770, the mission and presidio of San Carlos were founded there.

The success of the pioneers in creating centres of Spanish activity in the north was greatly appreciated by the authorities in Mexico, and provision was immediately made for the planting of other missions. Two of these were established in 1771, the first, named San Antonio, was colonized from Monterey on the upper waters of Salinas River. The

second, San Gabriel, was established from San Diego at a spot near the present site of Los Angeles.

The year 1772 is noteworthy for several important incidents contributing directly and indirectly to the success of the operations in California. In the first place, the missionary establishments in the peninsula, which, since the forced retirement of the Jesuits in 1767, had been under the control of the Franciscans, were now turned over to the Dominicans, thus freeing a number of Franciscan friars for the larger field in the north, and stimulating this order to push its conquests in Upper California. Secondly, Governor Fages, acting upon orders from Mexico, undertook an important exploration of the country about San Francisco Bay. He set out from Monterey in March, crossing the mountains to the Santa Clara valley, which he descended to the bay, and then skirting the east shore to San Joaquin River, discovered the great interior valley of California. Its vast extent, however, was not suspected, for Fages thought it might be feasible to pass round the rivers which he saw flowing from the south and north in an effort to examine the yet unexplored portions of the inland sea. It was the intention to plant a mission at the old port of San Francisco; but the obstacles in the way of reaching Point Reyes by land were many and the plan was abandoned for a while. A third incident of this year was the journey of Fages and Father Junipero Serra to San Diego, in the course of which Serra founded the mission of San Luis Obispo, September 1st. From San Diego the mission president sailed to Mexico in order to report personally on the state of the northern missions; and with this event the first period of California history came to a close. Five missions had been established, all of which were protected by an insignificant military force of sixty men, distributed in small detachments, but with general headquarters at Monterey. The missions were officered by nineteen Franciscan friars.

Except for persistent efforts to Christianize the natives centring about these five missions, and for some progress in

agriculture, building, etc., under the direction of the temporary president, Father Palou, the year 1773 was without important movements in Upper California. But in the following year a new activity opened, both in missionary effort and in exploration. Father Junipero, having made his report to the authorities, and secured many regulations favorable to the missions, returned on the *Santiago* with Perez to San Diego in March, 1774, and, landing there, paid a visit to the establishments between San Diego and Monterey. A little later Rivera, the newly appointed governor of the country, arrived overland with a body of new troops to take the place of Fages and to reorganize the somewhat unsatisfactory military guard, the allowance of troops having been increased to about eighty men.

On arriving at Monterey, Rivera found that a plan had already been made by Palou to explore for a mission site to the northward, and since orders had been issued to the new governor for the establishment of a mission at the old port of San Francisco, Rivera prepared to coöperate with the priests in this enterprise. In the months of November and December, an expedition led by Rivera marched northward from Monterey, and explored the peninsula between San Francisco Bay and the ocean, as far as the Cliff and Seal Rocks. The party encountered many Indians, all peaceably disposed, and saw some half-dozen locations suitable for missions, but nothing could be done toward planting one that season, and the party returned to Monterey by the middle of December.

At the beginning of this year, 1774, an expedition under Captain Anza had been dispatched northward from the Mexican province of Sonora, for the purpose of opening a highway by way of Colorado River to the missions. The captain set out in January, with a party of thirty-four men, one hundred and forty horses, and sixty-five head of cattle, and reached San Gabriel toward the end of March. This was the first regular exploration of a route from the Colorado to the west coast of California, and might have been

of considerable importance in the later history of the country had the natives of the Colorado River region proved more tractable, for it opened a direct line of communication with northern Mexico, in addition to that already established with the peninsula of Lower California.

Up to the 1st of August, 1775, no vessels except the canoes of Indians, had entered the bay of San Francisco, but on that day, just at dusk, Ayala, who had been sent northward in the spring of 1775 to explore the great inland sea, entered the Golden Gate and anchored near North Beach. An examination extending over more than a month, proved that the bay afforded a most excellent harbor, or collection of harbors, with which the old port of San Francisco could bear no comparison.

Although in 1775 another land party had gone up from Monterey once more, circumstances were still unfavorable to the planting of a mission in the north, and the year closed with no extension of missionary effort beyond San Carlos. In the south it was decided to plant a new station at San Juan Capistrano, between San Diego and San Gabriel; but, although a beginning was formally made on the 30th of October, the place was abandoned a little later in consequence of news that the San Diego Mission had been destroyed, November 4th, by neighboring savages, and a priest and two other men massacred.

At this time, Anza, the military visitor of the previous year, was on his way overland from the northern provinces of Mexico with a large company. Having succeeded in his project of opening a road from the Colorado westward, he had been commissioned to attempt the planting of new missions on the Colorado, and a presidio with other missions about San Francisco Bay. He collected supplies, some five hundred horses and mules, and three hundred and twenty cattle; he also enlisted two hundred and seven persons who were to remain in California, and twenty-five others for temporary service on the journey. The majority of the party were soldiers and their families, but there were also

several families of colonists. On this expedition, begun October 23, 1775, Anza marched through a portion of Arizona, followed the Gila route to the Colorado, crossed the latter stream on the last day of November, and reached the mission of San Gabriel on January 4, 1776.

Delaying there for a time to assist the commandant, Rivera, to punish the San Diego natives for the massacre, he finally departed with his company on February 21st and arrived at Monterey on March 10th. Anza entered with zeal upon the project of exploring San Francisco Bay, and left San Carlos for that purpose before the end of March. On the peninsula he selected sites for both mission and presidio; but he left the actual planting of the northern establishment to others. In June, a mixed party under Moraga marched north from Monterey and met the supply ship *San Carlos* which entered the Golden Gate about the middle of August. Immediately the party began constructing buildings for the presidio and the mission. On October 9, 1776, the mission of San Francisco was formally established.

When Father Junipero Serra visited San Francisco a year later he is said to have looked over the waters of the strait and of the bay and to have declared that now "our father St. Francis, with the holy cross of the procession of missions, has reached the last limit of the Californian continent. To go farther he must have boats." This was no idle sentiment, but a thoroughly practical reflection. The great inland sea, which was called by the name of the older port lying to the northwest, the north and south flowing rivers, whose reach was unknown, and the broad strait through which their waters sought the ocean, interposed an effectual barrier to a farther march along the coast. And since the mission system depended so largely upon land transportation, and upon the cattle and other animals which must be driven overland, it was clear that the system had reached a practical limit in that direction. Not until forty years later was an establishment planted on the north shore of the strait, so that we may properly regard the Golden Gate

as the northern boundary of California during the strictly missionary period.

The story of the missions from 1776 concerns itself more with building than with exploration; with the planting of new missions along the lines already opened, the conversion of the numerous tribes as yet unprovided for, and the development of the system as a whole. The erection of new missions began again at the south with the rebuilding of San Diego in October, 1776. The station at San Juan Capistrano, abandoned the preceding November, was re-established. Early in January, 1777, was founded the mission of Santa Clara, in the beautiful valley of the river now called by that name, which enters the southern arm of San Francisco Bay near its extremity. This was the eighth of the religious establishments of California.

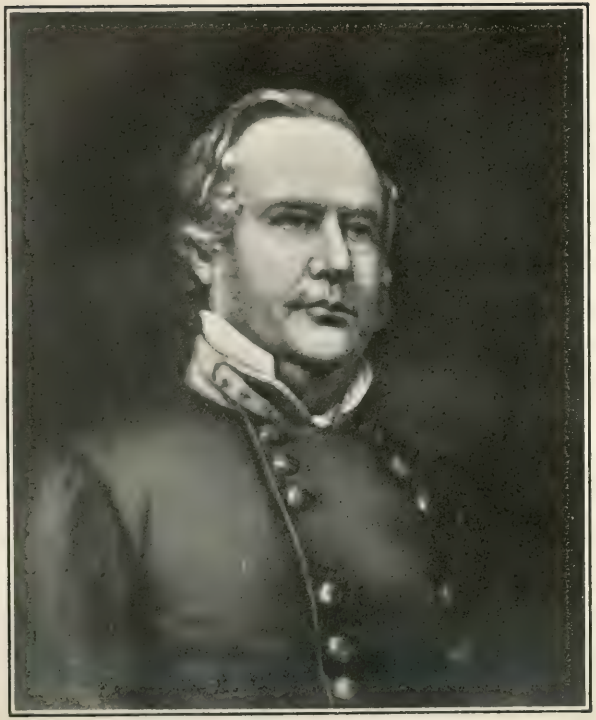
By this time it was becoming apparent that California was admirably adapted to colonization from the south; and for economic reasons, such as the supplying of grain which hitherto had been shipped north at great expense to supply the presidios, the officials in Mexico favored the planting of secular settlements. This movement was fostered by a political change which took place at this time. Heretofore Upper California had been ruled by a commandant, who was virtually independent in his position, but who, nevertheless, had reported to the so-called governor of the two Californias, whose capital was Loreto in the peninsula. Since Upper California by this time overshadowed the peninsula in importance, it was provided that the governor was to reside at Monterey, while the ruler of the peninsula was henceforth to be subordinate to him and to be called lieutenant-governor. It was the transfer of Governor Neve to Monterey, early in 1777, which led to the planting of the first secular colonies, or pueblos. On his way northward, this officer selected a location near San Gabriel for one farming community, and shortly after reaching Monterey he visited the north and chose a second site in the immediate vicinity of the new Santa Clara Mission. At the

latter place Neve founded the first pueblo in November, 1777, the settlement consisting of fourteen families comprising sixty-six persons. It was named San José, and was the beginning of the present city of that name. The colonists, who were nearly all retired soldiers, received allotments of land, stock, seed, rations, implements, etc., together with a money payment on the basis of military service. Some lands were irrigated and planting begun the following spring, but it required several seasons to insure the permanency of the new enterprise.

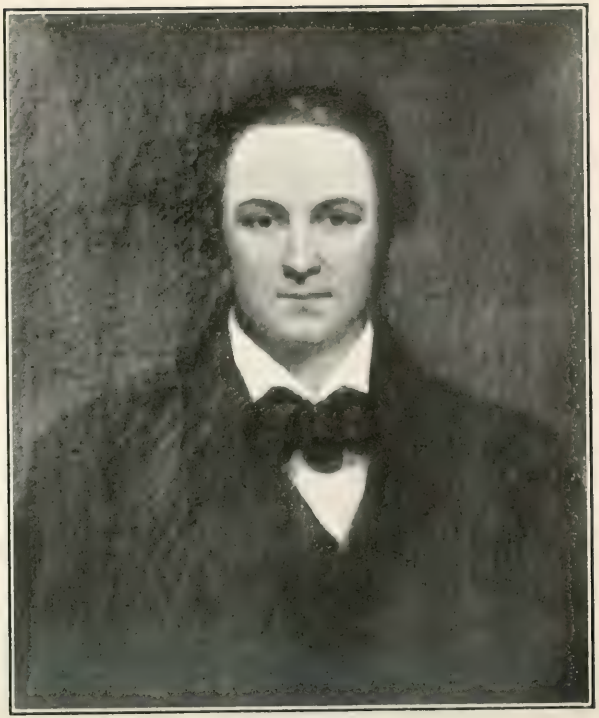
The southern pueblo planned by Governor Neve could not be established until 1781, on account of the lack of settlers, or soldiers with families, who could be employed for that purpose. In the meantime, regulations were adopted covering in detail the subject of colonization. Settlers were to be drawn from various districts of Mexico; each family was to be given lands for house-lot and field, with an advance of stock, seed, and implements, to be paid for within five years; and, in addition, settlers were to receive a pecuniary support for five years, as well as exemption from taxation for the same period. The settlements were to be limited in extent, and were to have a municipal constitution. Under the stimulus of these liberal provisions, recruiting for the northern pueblos was carried on with such success that in the spring of 1781 several small companies, mostly soldiers with their families, started for their new homes in the north. But a bloody attack by the Colorado River Indians upon one of the parties reduced the emigration to a few families. Most of these reached San Gabriel in August; and on the 4th of September, the pueblo of Los Angeles was founded, with twelve families, numbering forty-six persons. They lived at first in huts made of upright timbers, plastered and roofed with mud, but soon replaced these with more comfortable houses built of adobe. Although these settlers were not remarkable for industry, the ditching of the land was at once begun, and the foundations laid for the development of this fertile region.

The creation of these pueblos practically completed the institutions established by the Spanish in California, except that in course of time a system of ranches, based on extensive grants of land to individuals, began to grow up within the vast unoccupied spaces. For a long time the missions continued, as at the beginning, the central feature in the social, political, and economic life of the country. The chief reason for the occupation of California, besides the gaining possession of the country to the exclusion of other powers, and the making of its ports the base of farther explorations, was the Christianizing of the natives. The whole effort of the Franciscans was to secure the means of extending the mission system so as to embrace all the coast tribes between San Diego and San Francisco.

One portion of this territory, that along the Santa Barbara Channel, was an especially promising field, on account of the great number of its native villages and the docility, intelligence, and high character of its inhabitants. It had long been the wish of the friars to found several establishments in this region; but obstacles, chiefly the want of soldiers and priests, had caused delays. When Governor Neve inspected the district on his way to Monterey in 1777, he fixed upon three locations for missions, one at about the middle point on the channel coast, which was to include a presidio as well, and one near each extremity; in other words, he marked out the sites of the future Santa Barbara, —presidio and mission—San Buenaventura, and Purisima. The arrival of the new forces in 1781 made it possible to begin partially the execution of this plan, and on the last day of March, 1782, the mission of San Buenaventura was founded by Father Junipero Serra. A guard of fourteen soldiers being left to defend this establishment, the larger company under Neve marched westward along the coast and planted, April 21st, the presidio of Santa Barbara. The religious establishment at this place, as well as that at the western extremity of the channel coast, had to wait upon the coming of more friars. It was not until the close of the



Sterling Price.



Lewis Fields Linn.

From paintings in possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

year 1786 that the Santa Barbara mission was formally dedicated; and Purisima, though nominally dating from the same month, December, 1786, was not actually begun until March, 1788.

About twenty years had elapsed since the founding of San Diego mission, and the system had been extended, if not to all the coast tribes, at least to a large proportion of them. In the year 1786, La Pérouse, the French navigator, while on an exploring voyage round the world, visited the California coast, and spent ten days in the harbor of Monterey. In this officer's narrative, there is given an account of the mission system. La Pérouse was received at the mission with every demonstration of good will by the governor, by the officers of a Spanish fleet anchored in the bay, and by the missionaries. They vied with each other in the effort to be of service; "cattle, garden stuff, and milk were sent on board in abundance." The house of the governor (Fages) was the home of La Pérouse and his officers during their stay; and when at the invitation of the missionaries they visited San Carlos, the bells were rung on their approach to indicate the joy of the Fathers at the happy event. "We were received," said La Pérouse, "like the lords of manors when they first take possession of their estates. The president of the missions, in his ceremonial habiliments . . . awaited us at the gate of the church, which was illuminated in the same manner as on the greater festivals. He conducted us to the foot of the high altar, where he chaunted the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for the happy success of our voyage."

In describing the mission system, as illustrated by conditions at San Carlos, La Pérouse found much to praise, and some things to blame. "The church," he said, "is neat, though thatched with straw." It contained some pictures copied from Italian paintings. On entering the sacred edifice and on leaving it, the visitors passed between long lines of Indians, men, women, and children. These were the mission people, or neophytes, who lived nearby in

a village of some fifty huts, to the number of seven hundred and forty souls. "These huts are the most wretched that are anywhere to be met with. They are round, about six feet in diameter and four in height. Some stakes of the thickness of a man's arm, stuck in the ground and meeting at the top, compose the framing. Eight or ten bundles of straw, ill-arranged over these stakes, are the only defense against the rain; and when the weather is fine, more than half the hut remains uncovered, with the precaution, however, of two or three trusses to each habitation, to be used as circumstances may require."

The explorer was informed that all efforts to induce the natives to build better houses had failed. The Indians say "that they love the open air, that it is convenient to set fire to their house when the fleas become troublesome, and that they can build another in less than two hours." The mission Indians were absolutely under the direction of the friars, having exchanged their independent life for the less precarious existence, with religious teaching and civilized guidance, guaranteed to them in these establishments. "The color of these Indians, which is that of negroes; the houses of the missionaries; their storehouses, which are built of brick, and plastered; the appearance of the ground on which the grain is trodden out; the cattle; the horses; everything in short, brought to our recollection a plantation at St. Domingo or any other West India Island. The proselytes are collected by the sound of a bell; a missionary leads them to work, to the church, and to all their exercises." Even the punishments meted out to evildoers suggested to the Frenchman the slave system of those islands. And yet, he does not write as an uncompromising critic, being convinced that the missionaries are thoroughly sincere and earnest in the efforts they are making for their neophytes. Some of these men he believed to be among the kindest, most devoted and saintly persons who had ever lived. "Still," he says, "I could wish that the minds of the austere, charitable, and religious individuals I have met with

in these missions, were a little more tinctured with the spirit of philosophy." He maintains that the system followed is ill calculated to develop the characters of the Indians; the Jesuits, he thinks, in their work in Paraguay and elsewhere, exhibited a higher order of intelligence and skill. He longed to see a trial made in California of a different system, one which would employ the principle of private property to stimulate the industry of the natives.

La Pérouse's description of the daily life at San Carlos is classic; and since it will serve equally well for most of the other establishments, the essential parts are here transcribed. "The Indians, as well as the missionaries, rise with the sun, and immediately go to prayers and mass, which lasts for an hour. During this time three large boilers are set on the fire for cooking a kind of soup, made of barley meal, the grain of which has been roasted previous to its being ground. This sort of food, of which the Indians are very fond, is called *atole*. They eat it without either butter or salt, and it would certainly to us be a most insipid mess. Each hut sends for the allowance of all its inhabitants in a vessel made of the bark of a tree. There is neither confusion nor disorder in the distribution; and when the boilers are nearly emptied, the thicker portion at the bottom is distributed to those children who have said their catechism the best. The time of repast is three-quarters of an hour; after which they all go to work, some to till the ground with oxen, some to dig in the garden, while others are employed in domestic occupations, and all under the eye of one or two missionaries." The women had no field work; but they were kept busy a great part of the time in roasting and grinding corn, all of which was done by the crudest conceivable methods. One of the French officers presented the mission with a hand mill, by means of which four women were able to grind as much as one hundred could formerly. The Indians were destitute of the most common labor-saving implements, the missionaries having been "more attentive to their heavenly than their

earthly concerns. . . . At noon the bells give notice of the time of dinner. The Indians then quit their work and send for their allowance in the same vessels as at breakfast. But this second soup is thicker than the former, and contains a mixture of wheat and maize, and peas and beans; the Indians call it *pussole*. They return to work from two to four or five o'clock, when they repair to evening prayer, which continues nearly an hour, and is followed by a distribution of *atole*, the same as at breakfast." Sometimes the mission Indians were permitted to hunt and fish on their own account; as a reward for good conduct or special service, families occasionally received small quantities of grain, from which they made thin cakes; and on high festivals all were presented with an allowance of meat, which was not infrequently eaten raw. Otherwise, the regimen of soup, as described above, constituted their regular food.

The punishments employed by the missionaries varied according to the misdeeds of the neophytes. Both men and women might be whipped, the former openly, to serve as examples to others, the latter in private, so that their cries should not serve to rouse the savage ire of the men. Culprits were sometimes put in the stocks, or even in irons. At night all the young girls, and the women whose husbands were absent, were locked up by the friars to protect them against the peculiar dangers to which they were subject: while for the same reason, a sort of police consisting of elderly Indian matrons, kept watch over such females during the day.

We gather from La Pérouse that these mission Indians, having their food secured to them by the Spaniards, had become utterly spiritless, while the entire system tended to emphasize their natural ignorance and stupidity. Occasionally one would pluck up courage to run away and join the non-Christian Indians in their villages, or *rancherias;* but three or four soldiers were always sufficient to bring them back, if they refused to obey the summons published by the priests.

La Pérouse had the highest possible opinion of the beauty, healthfulness, and fertility of the California country. "The soil," he said, "is inexpressibly fertile. . . . The medium produce of wheat is seventy or eighty for one, and the extreme sixty and a hundred. Fruit trees are still very scarce, but the climate is extremely proper for their cultivation, and differs little from the southern provinces of France." Yet, in spite of these favorable conditions for agriculture, the writer declares that the country does not possess a single European colonist. A few soldiers and the several missions "constitute at present the whole of the Spanish nation in this part of America." We know that this statement is not quite correct, for the two pueblos of Los Angeles and San José were begun several years before. The statement shows, however, that these settlements must have attracted very little attention at the time, or the inquisitive Frenchman would not have failed to learn of their existence.

Six years after the visit of La Pérouse, the British captain, Vancouver, first touched at the coast of California, which he also visited during each of the two succeeding years. At one time or another, between November, 1792, and November, 1794, he saw the Spanish establishments at San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, Buenaventura, and San Diego, obtaining a glimpse in passing of San Juan Capistrano and making a special journey from San Francisco to Santa Clara Mission. By inquiries directed to the Spanish officers and friars, Vancouver gained a fairly adequate idea of the establishments which he did not see in person; so that his account of California, as it was near the close of the century, is comprehensive and fairly detailed.

The military basis of the Spanish power in this region he found to be almost incredibly weak. A total of not more than three hundred soldiers and officers pretended to guard a coast line of four hundred and twenty nautical miles, to garrison four distinct presidios, and furnish protection to all the missions, several of which were in the midst of a dense native population. The presidios were

simply rectangular enclosures constructed of upright timbers, the interstices filled with sods and earth, and the outside plastered with mud. Within the enclosure, and ranged along its walls, were the church, the dwellings of soldiers having families, barracks, officers' quarters, store rooms, shops, etc. A few brass cannon, the largest of which were nine-pounders, some of them indifferently mounted, others upon the ground, constituted all the artillery to be found in California. The troops were distributed with reference to the requirements of defence against the Indians, San Diego and Santa Barbara each having sixty men, and those at Monterey and San Francisco somewhat more. Each presidio supplied, out of these numbers, guards of five, eight, ten or twelve soldiers to the several missions under their protection. The number of missionary districts corresponded with the number of presidios. San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel formed the most southerly, depending upon the presidio of San Diego; Buenaventura and Santa Barbara the next, under Santa Barbara presidio; Purisima, San Luis Obispo, La Soledad, San Antonio, San Carlos and Santa Cruz constituted the third district, and pertained to the presidio of Monterey, while San Francisco protected its own mission as well as that of Santa Clara, forty miles to the southeast.

Of the mission buildings, those at Santa Barbara, Buenaventura, and San Juan were the finest, being constructed of stone and brick, with red tile roofs, and having the outside walls neatly whitewashed. Vancouver was impressed with the success of the mission fathers in erecting these buildings with the aid of only native workmen. Each mission had its garden, those of Santa Clara, Santa Barbara, Buenaventura, and San Juan being distinguished for their excellence. At Santa Barbara were produced, besides abundant vegetables, a large variety of fruits, including the apple, pear, orange, grape, and plantain. The other missions also had made beginnings in horticulture. In the production of grains the mission of Santa Clara, located in a very rich valley, had

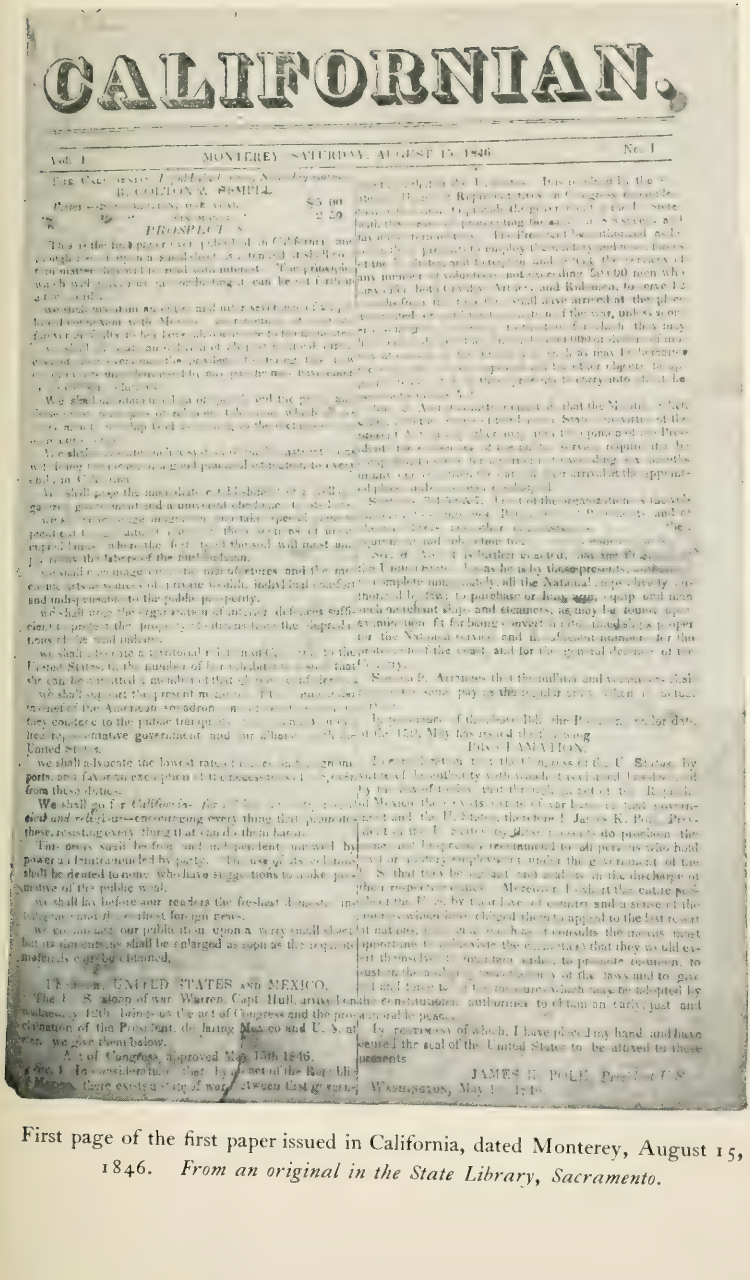
advantages over the other places visited, although agricultural operations were carried on at all of them, sometimes with the aid of irrigation. Cattle, sheep, horses, and mules were found at all the stations; herds and flocks grazed over the hills of San Francisco, through the Santa Clara valley, along the Carmelo, and in the high valleys above the Santa Barbara Channel. San Diego alone had a dearth of pasturage, the animals belonging to this mission being driven to a distance of twenty or thirty miles during the dry season.

Vancouver did not see San Gabriel, nor the pueblo of Los Angeles; neither did he visit the other pueblos, of which at this time there were two, San Juan and Santa Cruz. He describes them briefly, from hearsay information, as "settlements composed of retired soldiers with their families; they are engaged in general agriculture and stock-raising on their own account, but with some assistance from the military department. The men hold themselves in readiness to serve at call, and may therefore be regarded as constituting a sort of militia." While it is probable that several non-military families had settled at each of the pueblos, the general character of these communities was no doubt correctly presented in the explorer's report.

The overshadowing interest of California was the missions; and upon the general character of these institutions the testimony of the English navigator bears out that of La Pérouse. The Indian converts everywhere were listless, stupid, and so filthy in their persons and their dwellings as to be positively revolting. Vancouver considers them, with the exception of the people of Tierra Del Fuego, and Van Dieman's Land, the most wretched human beings he had ever seen. "They appeared totally insensible to the benefits with which they were provided," he says, "excepting in the article of food; this they now find ready at hand, without the labor of procuring it." Yet he tells us that at most of the missions a number of the young women were being taught to weave tolerable cloth from the wool of the

mission flocks, thus furnishing the means of greatly improved clothing; that many of the men had been instructed in the use of building materials and tools; and, that, as an experiment, the fathers at Santa Clara had begun, with native help, the erection of a row of improved houses to serve as dwellings for the most advanced of the Indian families under their charge. From this showing it appears that at least moderate success had attended the labors of these devoted Franciscans.

Vancouver saw abundant evidence of the veneration and love with which the natives regarded their religious parents. The incident of Father Vincente will illustrate. This kind prelate, on learning of the arrival of the British vessel at Santa Barbara, came from his mission of Buenaventura overland, with a number of Indians and a mule train, to bring fresh vegetables, sheep, and other good things, for the use of the sea-weary crew. Being induced to come on board and return to Buenaventura with Vancouver, his Indians clustered about and pleaded with him not to expose his person to such great danger, in the company of the strangers. When the vessel anchored below the mission, and the good father was safely landed, the joy of the entire colony of neophytes was full. They came down in great numbers, crowded about him, asked all manner of questions concerning the trip, and appeared to regard his restoration to them as a sort of miraculous event. All received the good man's blessing, by which they were instantly raised to the highest level of contentment. While it is not probable that all of the friars were so universally beloved by their people, there is no doubt that up to the close of the eighteenth century, at least, this good feeling was the rule rather than the exception. Moreover, while there may be found occasion for adverse criticism of the mission system, as it prevailed in California, yet it would be difficult to point to many Indian missions in any other part of the present United States as furnishing examples of better management, and producing on the whole better results.



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PROSPECTUS.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

Act of Congress, approved May 13th 1846.

PROCLAMATION.

JAMES K. POLK, President U.S.

First page of the first paper issued in California, dated Monterey, August 15, 1846. *From an original in the State Library, Sacramento.*

By 1800 the number of missions had been increased to eighteen, new establishments having been erected since the visit of La Pérouse, in 1786, at San Luis Rey, between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano; at San Fernando, above Los Angeles; Purisima, on the Channel coast; San Miguel and La Soledad on Salinas River; San Juan Bautista, east of Monterey, and Santa Cruz, north of Monterey; and San José east of the southern extremity of San Francisco Bay. The total number of Indian converts had by this time risen to 13,500 or more than double the number mentioned by La Pérouse.

Considerable improvement had been made in the mission buildings; a few of the native families were living in better houses than formerly; and some progress had been made in spinning, weaving, and the more common mechanic arts. Agriculture and stock-raising flourished at the missions. Bancroft makes the total of large stock (horses, mules, and cattle) 67,000, as against 22,000 in 1790; sheep (with a few pigs and goats) 86,000 as against 26,000. The wheat crop had more than doubled in ten years, and the missions were supplying a considerable portion of the food stuffs required by the presidios, in addition to feeding their own people. The pueblos contained somewhat over five hundred inhabitants, but were not in a highly flourishing condition. No general emigration from Mexico had as yet set in, and the missions were destined to continue for some years longer the leading, almost the sole, interest of California.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF FOREIGN COMMERCE

The mission system was opposed to a true colonial development in California. Its direct aim may be described as the spiritual exploitation of the country, in the achievement of which the Franciscans desired freedom from colonizing interference. The ultimate object, indeed, was to civilize the converted Indians; and if the process could have been successfully carried out there would have resulted new societies, the possible basis of new States. But this, for various reasons, was not to be the outcome of the missionary activity. The natives there, as elsewhere in North America, were destined to form a most insignificant element in the developed communities of modern times. In California, civilized societies grew up slowly outside of the missions, to some extent in spite of them and yet indirectly by their aid. One means which contributed largely to this result during the first thirty-five or forty years of the nineteenth century was the development of California's commerce with outside nations.

By a consistent policy of trade monopoly the Spanish government had succeeded in arresting the development of all its colonies, even those which, like Mexico and Peru, possessed the exceptional economic advantage implied in vast deposits of the precious metals. This policy was a fundamental cause of that widespread revolt of the Spanish-American colonies, which marked the first quarter of the

nineteenth century. California at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had not yet revealed its mineral wealth, and the settlement of the territory by white men was to be on account of its great extent of fertile soil, fit for agricultural and grazing purposes. But these natural advantages would fail to attract colonists unless they could be assured of a market for their products.

Prior to the year 1800, no trading vessel proper visited California, such trade as existed being carried on with the Spanish transports carrying supplies to the missions and presidios. It was an unsystematic, monopolistic, and wholly inadequate commerce, contributing but little to the prosperity of the country. Several schemes for the development of a more regular trade were considered by the government before 1800, but no important results accrued. So the situation would have remained to the end of the Spanish rule, had it not been for the coming of foreign traders to the harbors and roadsteads, and the gradual rise of an export trade not contemplated by the governing authorities.

La Pérouse was the first foreigner to sail into a California harbor after the Spanish occupation. He was no merchant, though he purchased a quantity of supplies for his vessel, as did Vancouver a few years later. Both navigators were impressed with the commercial possibilities of the country and they called attention to the great number of sea-otters, the value of whose furs had so recently been discovered by Cook's men in Canton. La Pérouse considered the furs of California hardly, if at all, inferior to those of the more northerly coasts of America. The Spaniards were in his time just realizing the importance of the fur trade, and he found at Monterey an official with a government order for all furs that should be collected at the presidios and missions. For several years an attempt was made to conduct this business through Manila, with Canton, but owing to poor management failure ensued.

Vancouver seemed to regard California, as it was controlled and managed by the Spaniards, in the light of a



Christopher (Kit) Carson. *From a probably unique daguerreotype in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.*

territorial temptation to commercially inclined nations. The Spaniards had stocked the country with an abundance of cattle; they had "pointed out many fertile spots, some of them very extensive, where they have introduced the most valuable vegetable productions. . . . All these circumstances are valuable considerations to new masters, from whose power, if properly employed, the Spaniards would have no alternative but that of submissively yielding." And he adds: "That such an event should take place appears by no means to be very improbable, should the commerce of Northwest America be farther extended. The advantages that have already been derived, and are likely still to accrue, in the prosecution of a well-conducted trade between this coast and China, India, Japan, and other places, may on some future day . . . become an object of serious and important consideration to any nation that shall be inclined to reap the advantages of such a commerce." At that time, he pointed out, Russia was deriving the greatest benefits from the northwest fur trade, because of the rivalries among traders of other nations. There seems good reason to see in this navigator's elaborate discussion of the weakness of the Spanish forts in California, and of the commercial importance of the country, a suggestion to the British government that, in case of war with Spain, California would be a valuable and easy prey.

However Great Britain may have received these suggestions those American traders who were beginning to frequent the west coast of America saw in California good harbors for refitting, and for securing indispensable supplies of vegetables, fresh meat, and grain. The United States began, before the closing years of the eighteenth century, sending to this coast an occasional vessel, the precursors of the fur traders and the hide and tallow ships of the following period.

The earliest evidence of an interest in such American craft on the part of the Spanish officials in California, is an order issued May 13, 1789, by Governor Fages to Arguello, commandant of San Francisco. It reads: "Should

there arrive at the port of San Francisco a ship named *Columbia*, which they say belongs to General Washington, of the American States . . . you will take measures to secure this vessel and all the people on board, with discretion, tact, cleverness and caution." But the first American ship to put into a Californian port was the *Otter*, Captain Dorr, of Boston, which visited Monterey in the fall of 1796. She did not trade, but landed on the coast a few British convicts, contrary to the wishes of the governor of California. For nearly three years the *Otter* had no successor; then, in 1799, the ship *Eliza* entered San Francisco Bay, trading for supplies, and the following year Captain Charles Winship, of Boston, landed on the southern coast with the *Betsy*. In the opening years of the new century the European peoples were increasingly engrossed with the wars at home, so that the west coast of North America tended to become the exclusive trading ground of American sailors, whose ships the Spaniards frequently saw passing northward and southward. Orders were issued from Mexico to the California authorities in 1801 to be on guard against them. Yet one of them, the *Enterprise*, from New York, traded for supplies at San Diego in June of that year. Two years later the *Lelia Byrd*, Captain William Shaler, from Salem, Massachusetts, brought out a large amount of merchandise for the purpose of illicit trade.

At San Diego, Shaler found the commandant too watchful to permit it, and so, after an adventure in which the *Lelia Byrd* exchanged shots with the fort battery, this vessel escaped southward for repairs. The object of Shaler, as of Brown, Rowan, and other American shipowners of this time, was to exchange their goods for otter skins. In time they succeeded, the Spaniards looking to the manifest advantage to the colony in permitting trade, rather than to the restrictive orders from Mexico, which could always be evaded. The missionaries, also, appear to have profited by the commercial opportunities thus presented, they, too, having furs to sell, which they secured

by means of the neophytes. Captain Shaler, who in 1808 published an account of California, declared that for several years American traders had purchased furs in California, in spite of the government prohibition, to the amount of $25,000 annually.

While these questionable commercial operations were being carried on by some of the American traders, others were initiating a movement for collecting otter skins by methods less clandestine, if quite as unlawful. The Russians in Alaska, since the chartering of the Russian-American Fur Company in 1799, were endeavoring to control the trade of the entire Northwest coast, and were even considering the California region; but their movements were hampered by the lack of suitable vessels for distant voyages. They commanded, however, in the natives of the Aleutian Islands, the best otter catchers in the world; and it was not long before the Americans evolved a plan of coöperation with the Russians. Governor Baranoff was to furnish crews of Aleuts to the Americans for the purpose of catching otter on the coast of California, the Americans were to convey the cargo to Sitka, and there to share the profits with the Russian Company.

The first of these expeditions was undertaken toward the close of the year 1803, among the Americans interested in it being the Winship brothers of Boston. From this time forward, fur-hunting foreigners frequented the coast, making their headquarters on the shores of islands and inlets, causing great consternation among the defenceless natives, and giving much trouble to the Spanish authorities. That the plan was successful is evidenced by the fact that in the spring of 1806, Captain Jonathan Winship brought from Alaska a company of more than one hundred Aleuts, and returned in the fall with a cargo of skins worth $60,000.

The most striking incident in the relations between Russians and Spaniards in California during this period, was the visit of Count Rezanof in 1806. This nobleman, who occupied a high station at the court of Czar Nicholas I.,

came to Alaska in 1805 in the interest of the fur company. The winter, 1805–1806, which he was compelled to spend at Sitka, was marked by almost famine conditions in this colony. Food could not be produced in Alaska, the Russian ship which set out with supplies had been wrecked, and the fleet of American traders upon which Baranoff largely depended for food stuffs had failed. Thus the colony was found by Rezanof on the verge of starvation. Fortunately, one American vessel, the *Juno*, from Massachusetts, brought a small cargo. The ship as well as the cargo was purchased by Rezanof, and he proposed a voyage in her to the coast of California, in the hope that the Spaniards might be induced to trade grain for such goods as he carried down. During the journey south Rezanof tried, though unsuccessfully, to cross the bar of the Columbia in order to inspect the country, having in view the planting of a Russian colony there. Finally, on the 5th of April, the vessel came to anchor in the bay of San Francisco.

All the arts of diplomacy, however, could not induce the commandant, Arguello, or the governor, Arrilaga, to permit the trade by which it was expected to fill the *Juno's* hold with grain for the starving Alaskans. But when, at last, Rezanof paid his addresses to the beautiful daughter of Arguello, Doña Concepcion, and gained her father's consent to the betrothal, the difficulty was removed. Before the end of May the *Juno* was on her way north to rescue the Russian colony. It was agreed that Rezanof should return to St. Petersburg, proceed thence to the court of Madrid, secure a dispensation from the Pope, and return in a couple of years to carry away his California bride. But on his journey through Siberia he died, partly from the effects of the hard experiences of the winter in America. Doña Concepcion, who remained long in ignorance of her lover's fate, but whose devotion remained steadfast, finally became a nun, and died at Benicia in 1857.

Besides its romantic aspect, Rezanof's visit had effects of a permanent nature upon the Russian relations with

California. Before sailing from Sitka, he had evolved a plan to establish a Russian settlement at the mouth of the Columbia. With this as a vantage ground, his countrymen were to work steadily down the coast to the Spanish settlement in California; and thus, if there should occur so fortunate an event as war between the two countries, Russia would be in a position to seize Spain's possessions. The Russians were by this time regularly carrying on a contract trade in California otter skins through the American shipowners; but it was decided to follow Rezanof's advice, and in 1809 Kuzkof sailed southward and formed a temporary camp at Bodega Bay. The location proved favorable, a large number of otter was secured, and some progress made in conciliating the natives. Kuzkof's report proving favorable, it was determined to plant a permanent fort on the California coast; and in 1812 this was effected, with the consent and encouragement of the Russian government. The post, situated a few miles from Bodega Bay, was called Fort Ross, and was occupied by the Russians for thirty years. During that time it was always a threat to the integrity of the Spanish and Mexican governments of California, and proved an effectual means of destroying the system of commercial monopoly which Spain tried to force upon the country. Agriculture and stock raising were followed at Fort Ross on a large scale, and a partial supply of food stuffs was produced for the northern colony. But the demand grew rapidly, so that additional grain had to be procured from the Californians, in spite of the restrictions.

The revolt of Mexico against the Spanish authority began in 1810, and from that time there was the greatest irregularity in the sending of supplies to the California establishments; and if it had not been for the foreigners, the colonies could hardly have maintained themselves. But the commercial regulations were unheeded, and friars, colonists, Indians, and even government officials, traded with Russians and Americans almost without restraint.

With Mexico's independence of Spain, California was organized as a province of the new republic and the political change ushered in a new era for California. In the first place, the mission system was considered by the dominant political party in Mexico to have, long since, demonstrated its inability to civilize the native inhabitants of California, and it was made the object of political attack. The neophytes were gradually released from their subjection to the friars, some of them were granted individual portions of land, which usually did them little good, and the properties of the missions were at last taken under control by the state. Though the process of secularization was very gradual, it was accompanied by much abuse of power on the part of state officials, and legitimate complaint on the part of the friars. The neophytes suffered because they had not learned in their period of tutelage the fundamental lesson of civilization,—self-help. In time, the mission buildings decayed, the gardens, orchards, and fields were neglected, ruins marked the sites of what, three generations before, had constituted the glory of California. Yet there was a brief period following the termination of Spanish rule, during which the new attitude of the state toward the missions actually tended to enhance their importance from a commercial point of view, because it brought much property into the market.

The commercial arrangements introduced by the Mexican government were at least in theory far more liberal than those of the Spaniards. Rather heavy duties were imposed, but Californian ports were thrown open to foreigners, and ordinarily the customs laws were not rigidly enforced. The region had become well known to the merchants of America through the operations of contract otter traders like the Winships, New England whalers, and others; and to the British by the extension of their South American commerce. Under the new conditions began an era of the most important commercial development which pre-American California was destined to enjoy. A Boston firm, Bryant, Sturgis & Company, in 1822 dispatched the

Sachem with an assorted cargo of goods which were in charge of Wm. A. Gale, a former otter hunter. The cargo was exchanged for hides and tallow. Gale remained in the country as agent for the Boston house, and the trade became a permanent feature of California life. About this time a British firm, McCulloch & Hartnell, with headquarters at Lima, Peru, came to the coast for the same purpose, Hartnell remaining as agent.

Once definitely inaugurated, this "hide and tallow trade" of California was pursued with all the ardor formerly displayed in the fur trade of the Western coast, the Boston firm above mentioned long retaining a recognized supremacy in the business. Stock raising was the universal occupation at the missions, pueblos, and ranches; and since the herds, already numerous at the opening of the century, had multiplied at an astonishing rate, local consumption and the demands of sailors of visiting ships consumed only part of the supply. But with the opening of this new trade an enhanced value was given to every horned animal. A very low price, usually two dollars per hide, was acceptable to the owners, and since this was usually paid in goods, on which the merchants placed a valuation of two or three times the first cost, the business became immensely profitable to the shipowners. Their agents kept in touch with the producers, paying occasional visits to the missions and pueblos, as well as to the ranches—of which there were a half-hundred by 1830—to make contracts in advance of the arrival of the ships. When these came in they sailed from port to port, often touching at each one a number of times, selling out their cargo of goods as opportunity offered, and taking on board the hides and tallow piled on the beach by the shiftless Indian carriers. At San Diego were the great hide houses, where the process of curing was going on during the year or two required to get together a full cargo for shipment round Cape Horn.

We are fortunate in having a very full account of this commerce in Richard H. Dana's *Two Years before the Mast.*

Dana, a young man of excellent family and a student of Harvard College, shipped as a common sailor on the brig *Pilgrim*, belonging to Bryant, Sturgis & Company, at Boston in August, 1834. The ship reached Santa Barbara after a tedious voyage of one hundred and fifty days, in January, 1835. She anchored there, but being driven out by the south-east wind, made for Monterey, a sheltered harbor, where commercial operations were begun: "The trade room was fitted up in the steerage and furnished out with the lighter goods, and with specimens of the rest of the cargo. . . . For a week or ten days all was life on board. The people came off to look and to buy, men, women, and children; and we were continually going in the boats, carrying goods and passengers, for they have no boats of their own. . . . Our cargo was an assorted one; that is, it consisted of everything under the sun. We had spirits of all kinds (sold by the cask), teas, coffees, sugars, spices, raisins, molasses, hardware, crockeryware, tinware, cutlery, clothing of all kinds, boots and shoes from Lynn, calicoes and cottons from Lowell, crepes, silks; also shawls, scarfs, necklaces, jewelry, and combs for the women; furniture; and, in fact, everything that can be imagined, from Chinese fireworks to English cart-wheels, of which we had a dozen pair with their iron tires on.

"The Californians are an idle, thriftless people, and can make nothing for themselves. The country abounds in grapes, yet they buy at a great price bad wine made in Boston and brought round by us, and retail it among themselves at a *real* (12½ cents) by the small wine glass. Their hides, too, which they value at two dollars in money, they barter for something which costs seventy-five cents in Boston; and buy shoes (as like as not made from their own hides, which have been carried twice around Cape Horn) at three and four dollars, and 'chicken-skin boots' at fifteen dollars a pair. Things sell on an average at an advance of nearly three hundred per cent on Boston prices."

As soon as trade grew dull at Monterey, the *Pilgrim* sailed back to Santa Barbara, where, with many vexations, on

account of the bad harbor facilities, the sailors carried goods ashore in boats, and managed to take off quantities of the stiff, sun-dried hides found stacked up just above high tide. They had to carry these on their heads—the hides were folded lengthwise, and having dried while stretched in the sun were as stiff, almost, as boards—march barefooted into the surf and toss them into the boats, after which a pull of three miles brought them to the ship.

From Santa Barbara the *Pilgrim* drew down to San Pedro, casting anchor some four miles out, and sending the boat on shore with an agent. It was a most inconvenient place to work in, and there was no town nor even a dwelling, save one shack, in view. The country seemed uninviting enough; and young Dana was surprised to learn that this "desolate-looking place . . . furnished more hides than any port on the coast. It was the only port for eighty miles, and about thirty miles in the interior was a fine plane country, filled with herds of cattle, in the centre of which was the Pueblo de los Angeles,—the largest town in California,—and several of the wealthiest missions; to all of which San Pedro was the sea-port." The agent "went up to visit the pueblo, and the neighboring missions; and in a few days, as a result of his labors, large ox-carts, and droves of mules, loaded with hides, were seen coming over the flat country." The Californians stopped to pile the hides on a hill just above the beach, and the sailors were obliged to carry them down as well as to carry all goods sold in exchange up the hill and load them upon the carts, the natives standing by until the exchange was completed, when they started lazily homeward. This, as the captain told the men, was "California fashion."

After taking all the hides that could be conveniently stowed away in the ship, a run was made down to San Diego, "keeping the land well aboard, . . . saw two other missions, looking like blocks of white plaster, shining in the distance." San Diego was a safe, landlocked harbor, with perfectly smooth water, and it had been made a sort of

headquarters for the hide business. "On the smooth sand beach . . . were four large houses, built of rough boards, and looking like the huge barns in which ice is stored on the borders of the large ponds near Boston, with piles of hides standing around them, and men in red shirts and large straw hats walking in and out of the doors. These were the hide houses." The one used by the *Pilgrim* had a capacity of forty thousand hides, and would have to be filled before the ship should be ready to sail for home. Three thousand five hundred skins were taken out of the vessel's hold, piled outside the house, and part of the men left to care for them while the *Pilgrim* got ready for another cruise along the coast, "chock up to windward," which meant, in the hide trader's parlance, San Francisco.

When the last cruise up coast was ended, and the vessel lay again at San Diego, she was thoroughly cleaned out, smoked, and then loaded with the forty thousand hides and got ready for the long voyage "round the Horn." It was the month of May, 1836, when the ship raised anchor at San Diego, and on the 16th of September following she arrived safely at Boston.

The development of a freer commerce favored the growth of colonizing enterprise in California, and the government in 1828 adopted regulations intended to promote settlement. By these, the Governor of California was empowered to make grants of vacant lands to any person, Mexican or foreigner, who might petition for them. It was also lawful, with the consent of the supreme government, to make extensive grants to "contractors," who should bind themselves to settle at least twelve families upon them. After fulfilling all conditions with reference to living upon the lands and cultivating them, a full title was to pass to the colonist. In case of failure to comply with the regulations, the grant was invalidated. Under these liberal provisions, which continued in force until 1846, and stimulated by the commercial opportunities presented, several hundred Mexican families settled in California, some of them in the pueblos, others

upon grazing lands, or ranches. There was no large immigration, because the Mexican territory had but few people who cared to make the long journey to the northern territory, even when all expenses were paid by the government. Criminals, indeed, could be readily spared, and, unfortunately for California, some two hundred of these were sent at various times and forced upon its unwilling communities. It has been estimated that the territory had a white population of four thousand two hundred and fifty by 1830, and about six thousand by 1840.

While the majority of these were Spaniards, Mexicans, or a mixture of these with the natives in varying proportions, there were also, by this latter date, numbers of foreigners who had drifted in mainly by sea, and who can be set down to the account of the new commercial influence. The earliest arrival of this description was the Englishman John Gilroy, left at San Francisco by the ship *Isaac Todd* on her way to the Columbia in the spring of 1814. Two years later, an American named Doak was left in the country. As trade increased under the Mexican régime, and the number of vessels touching at California ports became greater, the foreign element was gradually augmented by desertions, by shipwreck, and by deliberate immigration. The newcomers were almost invariably single men, who found wives among the former inhabitants, joined the Catholic Church, and received citizenship and lands. They became an integral part of each little community, introducing new ideas, and often showing ability for trade or speculation. When Dana visited the coast he found foreigners at all the ports. Monterey had a number of them, mainly Englishmen and Americans, who controlled nearly all the trade and had become property owners of some consequence. At San Pedro the only human habitation in sight was occupied by three Englishmen, who, while sailing on a Mexican vessel, "had been driven ashore—in a southeaster." When the *Pilgrim's* crew were allowed a "liberty day" on shore at San Diego, and "sailor-like steered for the first grog-shop,"

the establishment they entered was found to be in charge of "a Yankee, a one-eyed man, who belonged formerly to Fall River, came out to the Pacific in a whale-ship, left her at the Sandwich Islands, and came to California and set up a pulperia." He was selling, besides liquors, dry goods, "west India goods, shoes, bread, fruits," etc. About the hide houses was a motley collection of humanity, including many Sandwich Islanders and a giant Frenchman left on the coast by a wrecked vessel. While the *Pilgrim* lay at San Pedro a revolt occurred at the pueblo of Los Angeles in which a group of twenty or thirty resident Americans and Englishmen were engaged, and also a company of some forty American trappers, who chanced to be in the country. At Yerba Buena (San Francisco) there was a board shanty, soon replaced by a one story adobe house, owned by the English captain, Richardson, the first regular trader of the port.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION OF CALIFORNIA

Up to the time when Oregon became an object of interest to American pioneers as a place for settlement, the history of California had little in common with the history of the Northwest. But it was not long before the attractions of California were advertised along the frontier.

The first Americans to make the journey overland to California were traders or trappers. Jedediah Smith, in 1826, led a party of trappers westward across the desert from near Salt Lake to California. He is supposed to have entered the territory by a southern route, from Colorado River, arriving at the mission of San Gabriel toward the end of the year. Being taken to San Diego, Smith convinced the governor that his errand was a peaceful one, and he was allowed to purchase supplies for his return journey, which must be, he said, by a new route, since the one by which he entered would be impracticable. Before finally quitting the territory, however, Smith conducted trapping operations along the streams of the great interior valley, apparently meeting with success. He started for Salt Lake in May, 1827, crossing the Sierras somewhere near the later emigrant route from Humboldt River to the Sacramento. Several of his companions who remained in California, probably were the first American colonists to reach the country overland.

The fur trade of St. Louis was directed not only to the northwest, along the Missouri, the Yellowstone, and

the Platte toward Oregon, but equally to the southwest, along the streams flowing into the Red and the Arkansas. It was not long before traders had crossed the southwestern boundary line into Spanish territory, and there are cases on record of Americans being imprisoned for this crime, and left to languish for months or even years before securing a release. When the Mexican government came into control of the territories the more arbitrary of these restrictions were removed, and a freer intercourse established with the Americans, to the mutual advantage of the two peoples. In the first year of Mexican independence, 1821, the road was opened from Boone's Lick, Missouri, to Santa Fé on the Rio Grande. This was an achievement of so much importance as to justify more extended notice.

The leader of the pioneer party was Captain William Becknell, whose journal, published in the *Missouri Intelligencer* of April 22, 1823, is the source of our knowledge of this enterprise. The first trip was begun on the 1st of September, 1821, the company travelling with a pack train. They passed Fort Osage, crossed the Arkansas, and ascended its course for many days; then followed the Canadian Fork, and finally crossed the mountains, reaching Santa Fé about the middle of November. They found the inhabitants hospitable, and glad to exchange their silver and their mules for such goods as they needed or fancied, and at prices which made the trade exceptionally profitable to the Americans. The next year, in May, Captain Becknell left Missouri again, with a party of twenty-one men, a large number of horses, and three wagons. He was able to take these vehicles through successfully, and reported on his return that a good wagon road could be opened with very little labor. This work was gradually performed by a succession of wagon trains which followed the course marked out by Becknell.

The opening of this "Santa Fé Trail," was felt to be of great importance. Floyd alluded to it in Congress, deriving from it encouragement with reference to the

proposed wagon trail from the head of steamboat navigation on the Missouri to the navigable waters of the Columbia. The editor of the *Missouri Intelligencer* spoke of the new route as having a significance in several respects: because it embraced a portion of the road to Oregon, in which the national government was becoming deeply interested; because it would be the means of developing a new and profitable trade for Missouri; and because "the adventurous enterprise and hardy habits of this frontier people will soon penetrate beyond the mountains and compete for trade on the shores of the Pacific."

From this time the Santa Fé trade was a regular feature of Missouri enterprise, the wagon trains carrying westward American goods of many different kinds, and bringing back in payment great quantities of silver coin, and droves of mules. So important did this commerce become that the United States government frequently sent companies of troops to convoy the caravans, in order to protect them from attacks by the Indians.

It was not long before others besides the merchants began to visit New Mexico, attracted by the opportunities which the country afforded for money making in various lines. Among those entering in 1824 were the two Patties, father and son, the latter a boy of fourteen or fifteen years. They spent three years in mining, trading, and other occupations, and then, toward the end of the year 1827, started on a trapping expedition for Colorado River. Their company of thirty men, under the elder Pattie's leadership, reached the Colorado in safety, and eight members, including father and son, made their way down this river, reaching tidewater early in the year 1828. From the Colorado they crossed the desert westward, arriving at San Diego before the end of March.

Concerning the treatment accorded the party by the Mexican authorities there are two accounts. One of them is the *Narrative of James Ohio Pattie*, the young man, who returned to the United States, entered a Kentucky seminary,

and related his story to Timothy Flint, by whom it was published at Cincinnati in 1833. Pattie insists that the governor of California, Echiandia, who at this time lived at San Diego, cruelly oppressed and maltreated his father, thus causing his death, which occurred about a month after their arrival. All the men were thrown into prison, and, as in the case of Smith a year and a half earlier, were befriended by American shipmasters. Late in the summer the men were released in order that they might return to the Colorado and fetch a quantity of furs which they had placed *en cache*, though young Pattie was held as a hostage to insure their return. They found the furs spoiled, and all came back except two, who fled to New Mexico. Pattie's adventures in California, according to his own statement, were extremely varied, including a vaccinating tour through the length of the coast, an extended voyage on an American vessel, and participation in the so-called "Solis Revolt," which occurred in 1829. Finally, he was allowed to go to Mexico in June, 1830, whence he returned to Kentucky before the end of the year.

Pattie's companions preferred to remain in southern California, and one of these, Nathaniel Pryor, afterward gave information contradicting the charges of cruel treatment made by Pattie, and dwelling with some detail upon the kindness shown the father, Sylvester Pattie, by the Mexicans during the illness from which he died. He declared that the rough old trapper himself was so softened by this kindness that he voluntarily adopted the faith of his benefactors. His funeral was described as an imposing ceremony. Whatever may be the exact truth of the matter, there is no doubt that half of this little American party were content to remain in California, thus adding four to the list of those from the United States who settled in the country prior to 1830. Having entered by a direct overland route, the coming of this party possessed a significance wholly out of proportion to the number of colonists. Henceforth bands of trappers or traders, most of them Americans, drifted



Taos New Mexico,
Aug 11. 1858

Madam.

I herewith enclose the deed sent me by W. W Waston, Esqr—

I have endeavored to find out the place of residence of Mr. Louis Peteh but without success—

In 1850 he came to this country with me, remained some time, and then I believe left for California— I have not heard of him since.

I am Madam,
Very Respectfully,
Yr. Obt. Servt.
C. Carson.

Mrs E. Boatman
Kansas City
Mo.

Letter dated August 11; 1858, written by Kit Carson. *From the original in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.*

in each year by this southern route from Sante Fé and many remained as permanent settlers.

The year 1830 brought to California, among others, Ewing Young, who later figured prominently in Oregon history. Young was a Tennesseean, and by trade a cabinetmaker. At an early age he had been attracted to the frontier, together with such traders and Indian fighters as the Bent brothers, the Waldos, Campbell, and St. Vrain. It is related by William Waldo, that in 1829 a party of hunters, headed by Charles and William Bent, fell in, on the Sante Fé trail, with "a long string" of Comanche Indians, with whom a running fight was kept up for about forty days. Meantime, bands of the natives were recruiting in large numbers for the destruction of the whites. Young, who at the time was trading in the vicinity of Taos, heard of the predicament of Bent's party and, gathering a force of ninety-five trappers, beat off the Indians. Major Bennett Riley, another man afterward identified with California history, was active in the rescue. Waldo says that Kit Carson, then a mere boy, won his first laurels in this fight. Four years later, when Charles Bent and St. Vrain founded Bent's Fort on the upper Arkansas, Carson became the hunter for that establishment and remained there until 1842, when he became a guide to Frémont.

In the spring of 1830, Young, with a party of trappers, entered California, taking beaver from the interior streams, and afterward working down along the coast from San Francisco Bay. Some of his men are supposed to have remained in the country, but the leader and most of the others returned to New Mexico. Two years later, he was catching otter on the coast, and then he went inland to trap beaver. He pursued this occupation until the close of the year 1833, ascending the Sacramento and wandering northward as far as Klamath Lake. The following year he joined Hall J. Kelley, and made his way across the Siskiyous and into the Willamette valley. His operations had some direct influence in bringing settlers to California; but a much more

important result was in the close connection established between California and Oregon through the scheme that he evolved for purchasing cattle in the south and driving them to the Willamette. By means of this traffic, the overland trail from Oregon, already traversed by occasional trapping parties of Hudson's Bay men, became well known; and, water communication by means of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels being already established, as soon as Oregon received settlers in numbers from the United States, California attracted some of them southward.

Indeed, this emigration commenced even before the Oregon movement had become well established, when the Willamette valley was barely occupied by a few American missionaries and mountain men. Among those who found their way first to Oregon and then to California was John A. Sutter, a German brought up in Switzerland, who had arrived in America in 1834 and settled in Missouri. He was a young man of adventurous disposition, with some military experience acquired in the Swiss army, and, being attracted by the stories of the Far West, he accompanied a St. Louis caravan to Santa Fé in the spring of 1835. For three years he was absorbed in the Santa Fé trade, in connection with which he learned much about California. In 1838 he planned to make a journey to that country, and, for reasons which are not very clear, determined to take a northern route rather than to go west from Santa Fé. Leaving St. Louis in April, 1838, Sutter and seven other men reached Fort Vancouver in October. He reached California by way of Hawaii and Sitka, arriving at Monterey in July, 1839.

Sutter, having learned the Spanish language in the course of his Santa Fé commercial operations, and coming to California with many excellent letters of introduction from Hudson's Bay officers in Oregon, merchants in Honolulu, and Russian traders in Alaska, and being gifted, moreover, with winning manners and pleasing address, secured from the Mexican government of California a large tract of land

for the purpose of establishing a ranch. Because of accounts given him by Hudson's Bay traders in Oregon, Sutter was convinced that the Sacramento valley, then a wilderness known only to roving bands of trappers, was the proper place for his establishment. Although he had announced his intention of becoming a Mexican citizen, Sutter wished to be away from the Mexicans, in order that he might, without molestation, develop a great business, employ Indian labor, and trade with the surrounding tribes. The pioneer secured three small vessels fit for river navigation, and, loading them with all manner of supplies, set forth to explore the Sacramento. Near the mouth of American River, on a strip of high ground, the stores were landed, and Sutter pitched his tent. His companions were "three white men whose names are not known, ten Kanakas [Sandwich Islanders] . . . an Indian boy from Oregon, and a large bull-dog from Oahu. A site for the permanent settlement was at once selected . . . where two or three grass and tule houses were built by the Kanakas, more or less in the Hawaiian style, on wooden frames, put up by white men." An adobe house was completed before winter, and thus were the foundations laid for a new colony, which, because of its location in the great interior valley, of its isolation from the coast line of Mexican settlements, and especially because of the convergence here of the trails leading from the United States and from Oregon, was destined to become the centre of most important events in the dramatic history of the next decade.

After spending about a year and a half in the work of beginning his settlement, Sutter had a survey made of the adjoining lands, and received from the Mexican authorities a title to eleven square leagues. He had selected lands lying mainly on the east side of the Sacramento, in the valley. The grant extended northward about sixty miles, to the "Buttes."

"The Captain," as he was called, received the rights of citizenship, and, what was of more consequence, was given an office under the Mexican government, with practically

complete jurisdiction over all upon his estate, and with power to deal with the Indian tribes of the entire inland country. He had the right to control the Indian trade, to keep peace among the tribes, to employ Indians in his business, and to adopt such gentle means as he saw fit to civilize them.

Sutter prepared not only for agriculture and trade, but secured himself from hostile attacks by Indians or white men by building a strong fort. This structure, which has been reproduced in brick on the same spot by the Native Sons of California, was a rectangular enclosure, about five hundred by one hundred and fifty feet, with walls eighteen feet high and three feet thick. At two angles were bastions for the mounting of cannon, of which Sutter had purchased eight or nine, and loopholes for the defence of the three gateways. The interior was occupied in part by a large adobe house, used as office, blacksmith shop, and for other purposes; along the walls, with roofs sloping inward, were rows of stalls or low buildings, some of which were occupied by the men belonging to the establishment, all of whom, as a rule, had Indian wives; some served as granaries and storerooms; some as shops for the mechanics; and one, larger than the rest, was Sutter's distillery.

Sutter gathered around him at the fort a miscellaneous band of men, foreigners who came to Oregon with him, American trappers, Mexicans and Indians, to the number of thirty or forty, aside from women and children. Some of these men engaged in trapping beaver through the valley, as far south as the Tulares; others worked in the fields; others collected timber on the river above; while some pursued, within the enclosure, various mechanical undertakings or engaged in simple manufacturing. Sutter's Fort became a colony similar in many ways to the more celebrated Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, and its importance in California history is equal to that of the northern establishment in the history of Oregon.

Cattle and other live stock for breeding purposes were secured by Captain Sutter immediately upon his settlement

in California, and his herds and flocks multiplied with great rapidity. In August, 1841, Lieutenant Ringgold of the Wilkes exploring squadron found upon the Sacramento pastures "about one thousand horses, two thousand five hundred cattle, and about one thousand sheep, many of which [were] to be seen about [the] premises, giving them an appearance of civilization." By the beginning of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, Captain Sutter was in a position to be the patron as well as the official protector of the native Indians, and of all foreigners coming to the valley.

By that time, the political situation of California, as a detached territory of the Mexican Republic, was beginning to attract the serious interest of the United States and Great Britain. In 1835 the United States had offered to purchase from Mexico the territory north of the parallel of thirty-seven degrees, from the Rio Grande to the Pacific, in order to secure on the western ocean the great bay of San Francisco. This plan failed, largely, it is supposed, through the opposition of Great Britain, whose interest it was to prevent both Texas and California from falling into American hands. A little later, 1837, there was rumor of a cession of California to Great Britain in payment of the debt owed her by Mexico. In 1841, the Hudson's Bay Company established itself at San Francisco, under arrangements with the Mexican authorities, and British interests in the country were, as the Americans thought, unduly strengthened.

To the United States it was becoming more and more evident that California must one day form part of the Union. The region, like Oregon, was contiguous to the American territory east of the mountains; the trails from the east formed a connection with its great valleys; and these in turn communicated directly with the finest seaport on the Pacific Coast. Many utterances of both private and public men illustrated the sentiment of the public. One of the most interesting, on some accounts, was that

of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, who visited the coast with his exploring squadron in 1841. Wilkes wrote in his official journal: "The situation of Upper California will cause its separation from Mexico before many years. The country between it and Mexico can never be anything but a barren waste, which precludes all intercourse except that by sea, always more or less interrupted by the course of the winds, and the unhealthfulness of the lower seaport towns of Mexico. It is very probable that this country will become united with Oregon, with which it will perhaps form a State that is destined to control the destinies of the Pacific. This future State is admirably fitted to become a powerful maritime nation, with two of the finest ports in the world,—that within the Straits of Fuca, and San Francisco. The two regions have, in fact, within themselves everything to make them increase, and keep up an intercourse with the whole of Polynesia, as well as the countries of South America on the one side, and China, New Holland, and New Zealand, on the other. Among the latter, before many years, may be included Japan. Such various climates will furnish the materials for a beneficial interchange of products, and an intercourse that must, in time, become immense; while this western coast, enjoying a climate in many respects superior to any other in the Pacific, possessed as it must be by the Anglo-Norman race, and having none to enter into rivalry with it but the indolent inhabitants of warm climates, is evidently destined to fill a large space in the world's future history."

Wilkes was diplomatically silent as to the possibility of the country's falling into the hands of the United States, but it is easy to infer his belief in such an end from his prophecy of a union between California and Oregon, as well as from other observations contained in his journal. He clearly saw, as did Sir George Simpson and De Mofras, who were in the country during the same year, that the United States had a distinct advantage over other powers in the approaching contest for California. One vital reason was, that Americans

were beginning to emigrate to that country in appreciable numbers, and might soon be expected to bring about its political separation from Mexico, as they had recently done in the case of Texas.

The year 1841 marks the beginning of the largest influx of Americans that the Californians had yet seen, for it brought to the Sacramento the first emigrant train arriving direct from the Missouri. This party opened the trail by way of Humboldt River. John Bidwell tells us that during the winter of 1840–1841 about five hundred people in western Missouri signed a pledge to go to California in the spring. They were to rendezvous near Independence in May, and organize for the march. When that time came, however, the excitement had so subsided, owing in part to the earnestness with which newspaper editors decried the Mexican government in California, that Bidwell himself, then a young schoolmaster in Platte County, was the only man out of the whole body of signers who was prepared to redeem his pledge. But he found three other men who were willing to accompany him, and they set out, overtaking on the way several small parties from other sections of Missouri and from Arkansas, until the company numbered forty-eight men, besides fifteen women and children. An organization was effected May 18th, by electing John Bartleson captain, and on the 19th this little band of adventurers struck boldly westward from Kansas River, in company with a smaller party bound for Oregon. At Soda Springs, near Fort Hall, a separation took place so that the California company was reduced to thirty-two men, one woman, and one child.

The route lay down Bear River to near the head of Salt Lake, thence westward over the desert to the Humboldt or Mary's River, down which the company, having already abandoned its wagons, travelled with all possible speed toward the Sierras. The party made its way to the San Joaquin, and reached the ranch of Dr. Marsh, a Missourian already settled in the country, on the 4th of November.

Later, several passed on to Sutter's Fort. A few other Americans entered the country by the Santa Fé route during the same year, and one man came down from Oregon before winter; so that the total immigration of 1841 amounted to about fifty men, or as many as all the preceding years had brought overland. The Bartleson party experienced some embarrassment from the authorities because they were unprovided with passports; but this matter was temporarily adjusted, and finally about one-half of the men became Mexican citizens and California landholders.

Many of the newcomers, however, were greatly discontented, so that nearly if not quite half of the party, including Bartleson himself, returned to the United States in the following summer. Causes of dissatisfaction were various. Some disliked the country, which seemed to them barren, this impression being received because they had arrived at the end of a season of the most severe drought ever known in California, when all crops were ruined and cattle were starving on the parched ranges. Bidwell says that "people generally look on California as the garden of the world or the most desolate place of creation." His next sentence reveals a second objection. "Although the country is not what I expected," he says, "yet if it were not under the Mexican government I should be as willing here to spend the uncertain days of my life as elsewhere. It may be I shall as it is."

A few persons drifted in during the summer of 1842, but there was no regular immigrating party like that of 1841. However, some of those who went to Oregon with Dr. White's company intended ultimately to continue their journey to California. A leading spirit of this emigration was Lansford W. Hastings, a lawyer by profession, who came from Ohio. During the winter spent in the Willamette valley, Hastings set himself the task of raising a company to go to California in the spring. The winter rains, often tedious and disagreeable to newcomers, favored his scheme, and in May, 1843, twenty-five men and twenty-eight women and children were ready to accompany Hastings

southward. Just beyond Rogue River they met a party of men driving cattle to Oregon, and also several American emigrants, who were leaving the "land of sunshine" for Oregon, which by contrast they were disposed to regard as the "land of freedom." One-third of the California party turned back, leaving Hastings to go forward with only about sixteen men and perhaps an equal number of women and children. Before the middle of July they reached Sutter's Fort, from which they distributed themselves through the country, carrying passports, issued without authority, by Captain Sutter.

Another company came this year, 1843, direct from the Missouri frontier, under the leadership of Joseph B. Chiles, who had made the journey overland in 1841 and had returned to Missouri in 1842. About fifty persons composed the party, and the route determined on was that of the 1841 emigration. However, at Fort Hall, Chiles with a few of the men struck out a new trail, proceeding first to Fort Boise, thence up the Malheur and by way of Pit River to the Sacramento valley. The other division, under Walker, attempted to follow the more southerly route, through the mountains by way of Walker Lake; but missing the way, they suffered great hardships before reaching the San Joaquin valley, which they entered near the Tulares.

The coming of Hastings with the party from Oregon, was the most significant fact in connection with the emigration to California in 1843; for it is largely to his efforts that the great increase in the number of settlers from the United States during the three succeeding years is due. Hastings in 1844 wrote his *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, which was published in 1845. Meantime, he had done what he could by means of letters to arouse an interest in this country, which he regarded as the best fitted of any in the known world, "to promote the unbounded happiness and prosperity of civilized and enlightened man." He also delivered lectures in various portions of the United States on the subject of California. While representing

the government and people of the country as most villainous and degraded, Hastings insinuated that Americans were already sufficiently numerous to compel good treatment, and he seemed to feel that the time was not distant when they would take the government into their own hands.

The year 1844 duplicated, almost exactly, the parties of 1843. The first arrivals were a company of about thirty persons who came overland from Oregon, reaching the Sacramento in June. A second company, organized in Missouri, accompanied the large Oregon parties of this year as far as Fort Hall, where they turned off to take the Humboldt route to California. Up to 1844, no wagons had been brought through to the great valley; but this party succeeded, by taking a route far to the north of that usually pursued from the sink of Humboldt River, in bringing a dozen vehicles across the Sierras to the Sacramento. This may be regarded as the actual opening of the so-called "Truckee Route." The party suffered great hardships in crossing the mountains, on account of the lateness of the season and the snow and cold encountered, but they finally reached Sutter's Fort safely just before the close of the year.

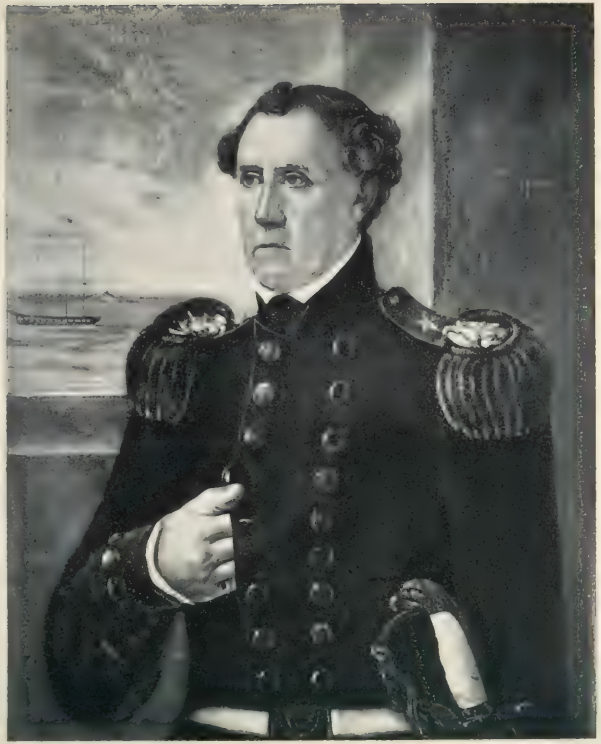
The increase in the number of Americans entering the country in 1845, showed the effects of Hastings's work, and also of the growing belief among westerners that California was about to pass from Mexican control into that of the United States. This year about three thousand emigrants crossed the plains to Oregon, many of them meeting with disaster on the way, through the unfortunate adoption of a new route. The California emigrants accompanied the Oregon parties as usual to Fort Hall, where sixty wagons turned off toward Humboldt River. Such a large immigration was awaited with the deepest concern by Mexican and Californian officials, especially in view of the strained relations between Mexico and the United States over the annexation of Texas. There was a disposition in the central government to forbid the Americans to enter the country, but the Californian authorities, after some

hesitation, concluded to receive this party with the same hospitality extended to their predecessors. But many of the immigrants found it impossible to obtain lands and remained in the country on sufferance.

By 1845, the number of Americans in California amounted to about one thousand, with the prospect of an indefinite increase. Of other foreigners there were only a few score, and the total white population of the country hardly exceeded six or seven thousand. But the influence of the Americans was beginning to be felt throughout all California.



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JOHN DRAKE SLOAT

Rear-admiral, U. S. N.

W. A. RICHARDSON

Who built the first house in Yerba Buena (San Francisco) in 1835.

Both from paintings in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

CHAPTER XV

THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

The event which was to determine California's permanent political status had long been awaited. From the time that the American rangers at San Jacinto won the territory of Texas from Mexico in 1836, a war between that nation and the United States was always one of the probabilities; for the sentiment in favor of annexing Texas to the Union was strong in portions of the northern republic, and Mexico had declared that she would regard such annexation as an unfriendly act. At various times the relations between the two countries became so tense that hostilities were almost daily expected.

Recalling the interest which the United States had manifested in California from the year 1835, and remembering the slight hold of the Mexican government over that distant and detached territory, the American expectation that a war with Mexico would add California to the Union becomes comprehensible. Oregon had been claimed by right of discovery, exploration, and first occupation; thus had the Union established itself on the Pacific and made the ocean, rather than the crest of the Rockies, its western boundary. But that boundary would be incomplete without California. And the extension southward along the Atlantic, and westward along the Gulf of Mexico, which would be accomplished by the annexation of Texas, inevitably carried with it the idea of rounding out the boundaries by securing

Upper California, and the region intervening between the coast line and the Rio Grande. The United States was, moreover, urged to the acquisition of California by the danger of a foreign occupation of the country. Great Britain had long desired the land, and France would not have been averse to its possession.

A war with Mexico would furnish an opportunity to our rivals as well as to ourselves to seize California, and it was incumbent upon the United States to be watchful. Accordingly, in December, 1841, Commodore Thomas Catesby Jones was put in charge of the United States Pacific squadron,—consisting of five ships carrying a total of one hundred and sixteen guns,—with instructions to patrol the California coast. Just what Jones's secret instructions were is not known, but it is probable that he understood that the government expected prompt action on his part in case of the outbreak of war with Mexico. Soon after reaching the Pacific, Jones heard that war had already been declared between Mexico and the United States and also that Great Britain had secured a cession of the two Californias by purchase. The time for action appeared to have arrived, and Jones accordingly decided to proceed to California and take possession of the country for the United States.

Sailing northward with all attainable speed, he arrived off the Bay of Monterey, October 18th, with two ships, the *United States* and the *Cyane*. On the 19th, he entered the harbor and was rejoiced to find it clear of British vessels. Rumors that Great Britain was to take immediate possession of the country, however, met him there as they had on the coast of South America; but the Mexican officials of Monterey professed not to have heard of hostilities between their country and the United States. Jones argued that by taking possession of Monterey in the name of the United States he might be able to prevent the country from falling into the hands of Great Britain, whose fleet was no doubt near at hand; but should it prove that no war existed between his own nation and Mexico

such an act might involve him in ruin, as the government would be forced to disavow his act. The commodore decided to assume personal risks rather than to jeopardize the interests of his country by inaction. An officer was accordingly sent on shore, under a flag of truce, to demand the surrender of the city and fortress.

The impotence of the Californian government was evident. No adequate means of defence against the guns of a warship existed, or had ever existed, on the entire line of coast. The mud forts could have been battered down by a few shots, and the towns placed at the mercy of the invader. It therefore required little time for the Mexican officers to agree upon an answer to the American commander, and at nine o'clock on the morning of October 20, 1842, articles of capitulation were signed by which the district of Monterey passed into the hands of Commodore Jones for the United States. Immediately afterward, the fort was evacuated by the Mexican troops, a company of one hundred and fifty marines took possession, and the American flag was run up while the ships' cannon roared salutes.

Next day the commodore learned, through reports from Mexico, that there was not only no war, but that Mexico denied having ceded California to the British government. Upon the receipt of this information, Jones immediately caused the American flag to be lowered, turned over the fort to the Mexicans, and saluted the restored emblem of that republic with all due ceremony.

The effect of the "invasion" upon the people and government of Mexico could not be so easily adjusted. To them it appeared to be not only a flagrant violation of international good faith, but a startling disclosure of American plans of aggression. However complete the apparent restoration of things at Monterey, and however vigorous the denial that Jones acted under orders of the Washington government, the Mexicans could not forget that a mere rumor of hostilities had brought the American fleet to the California coast.

This demonstration indicated that the United States had a programme in which the precipitation of a conflict over Texas was to subserve the purpose of acquiring California.

The effect produced upon California was of a different nature. The Californians well knew that Mexico was unable to defend them against foreign nations, and such allegiance as they rendered to that republic was based mainly on social, traditionary, or selfish motives; active patriotism being very little in evidence, even among the governing class. California had not been vitally concerned in the revolution which established the republic, and some of its leading men of that time (1821–1825), especially most of the missionaries, had been either open or secret partisans of Spain. They had accepted the results of the revolution, but not with enthusiasm. But, since the establishment of the republic, California had been becoming more and more independent of the home government. Mexico had caused and encouraged this spirit by giving the territory a system of government much more liberal and democratic than that which had been maintained by Spain. Instead of a military governor with supreme powers, there was, after 1824, an appointive governor and an elective assembly. Districts and prefectures also received appointive military and civil officers, while the towns elected their own alcaldes, or mayors, and ayuntamientos, or town councils. As a territory, California also had a deputy in the Congress of the republic.

But, so far as the Spanish element in the population was concerned, self-government in California was more theoretical than practical. The prevailing ignorance and apathy of the people presented a fruitful soil for the growth of a class of petty political manipulators, despotic in temper, and with frequently clashing interests. This was one cause of the revolutions which form so prominent a feature of Californian annals between 1824 and 1846. If we consider only the number of these disturbances we shall be inclined to write the Californians a bloodthirsty people; but this

judgment would be far from correct, for it was rare that anyone was killed or even seriously injured in the otherwise exciting encounters which passed under the generic name of revolutions. They were usually nothing more than political "squabbles," precipitated by the leaders for personal or sectional ends, and engaged in by the people for the sake of diversion.

At the time of the crisis, 1846, Pio Pico was governor, with his capital in the south, while General Castro, the head of the military department, was the official magnate of the north. The two men and the two sections were in a chronic state of jealousy and ill will toward each other. Three foreign nations, Great Britain, France, and the United States, were represented at Monterey by consuls, who had general charge of their countries' interests. Thomas O. Larkin, a New Englander, who had long been absorbed in the California trade, was the American consul, having been appointed to the office in 1843. He still continued his commercial operations, had a wide acquaintance among the leaders of California, spoke their language, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of all natives.

The Mexican government was using its best endeavors to secure the coöperation of California in the struggle with the United States which was preparing, and the officials in the territory were ordered to put the country into a state of defence to prevent the further influx of Americans and to arouse in the people a sentiment of patriotic zeal. Such was the condition of affairs in California at the end of the year 1845, when the plans for the conquest of California took definite shape, and the leading figure in the region was John C. Frémont.

Captain Frémont, who made his first expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842, took the route to Oregon in the following year, visiting Fort Vancouver for supplies, and gathering some information concerning the western district. He then returned to the Dalles and took up his homeward journey by a new route. This lay first northward,

by way of the Des Chutes valley, and over the uplands to the Klamath, then southeast toward the Humboldt, of which he was in search. Frémont, suffering from the deep snows and cold of February, crossed the Sierras into California to recruit his animals and arrived with his party at Sutter's Fort, March 8, 1844. Resting for two weeks at Sutter's, and securing such supplies as he needed, the party proceeded south by way of the San Joaquin, the Tulare, and by one of the passes through the Sierras; then east to Utah Lake and the Missouri. His report, printed in 1845, was widely distributed and added greatly to the popular knowledge of Far West geography.

Before his book was published the captain again started for the West. He left the frontier in May, 1845, with a party of about sixty picked men and moved up the line of Arkansas River.

The instructions under which Frémont made this third journey have never, as a whole, been given to the public, but one object of the expedition, as gathered from his contemporaneous writings, was to explore what he termed "the Great Basin," the region lying between the Rockies and the Sierras. This he achieved to his entire satisfaction. In a letter written January 24, 1846, he says that he left the main body of his command and crossed this supposed sandy desert, between the parallels of thirty-eight and thirty-nine degrees, with a volunteer party of fifteen men. He found its actual character totally at variance with every description. It was traversed "throughout its whole extent . . . by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, their summits white with snow (October) while below the valleys had none. Instead of a barren country, the mountains were covered with grasses of the best quality, wooded with several varieties of trees, and containing more deer and mountain sheep than we had seen in any previous part of our voyage."

The larger party, commanded by Theodore Talbot and guided by Joseph Walker, had taken another route, apparently further north, and met Frémont at the eastern foothills





Robert Field Stockton. *After the engraving by H. B. Hall from a painting on ivory by Newton, London, 1840.*

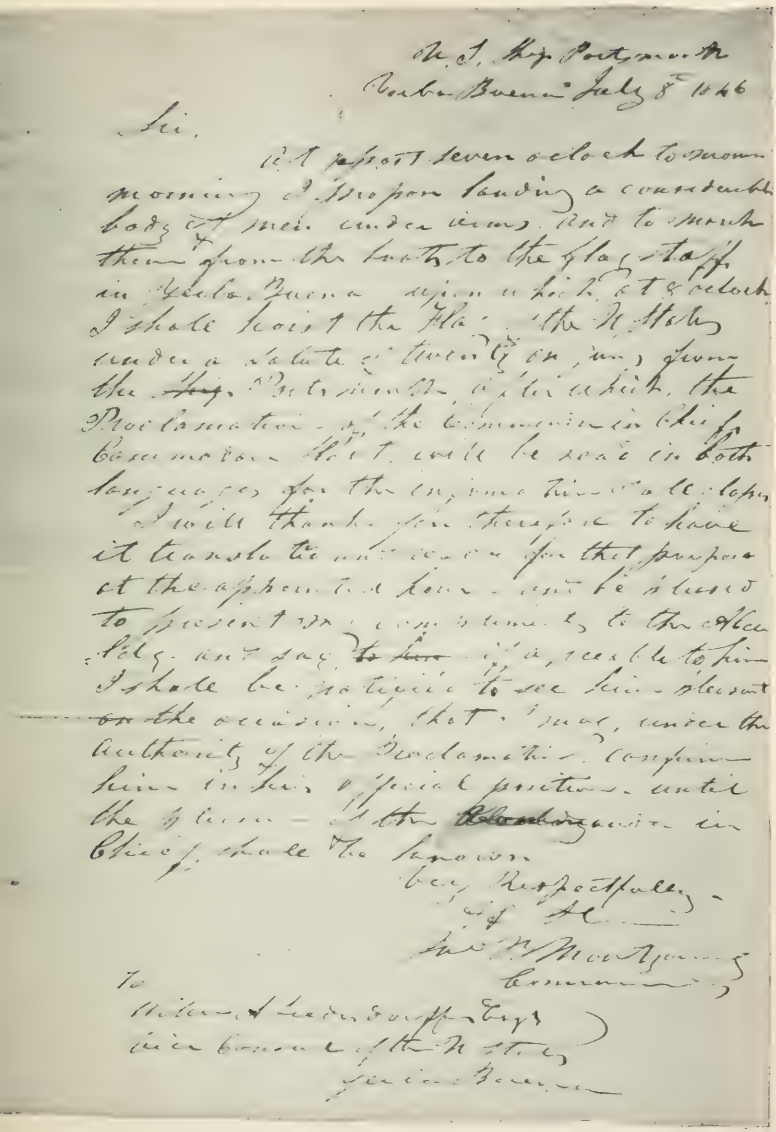
of the Sierras. From this point Talbot was sent southward along the base of the mountains, with instructions "to cross into the valley of the San Joaquin, near its head." His party crossed the Sierras at Walker's Pass and camped on Kern River just before the end of the year. Frémont, meantime, with his fifteen men, crossed the mountains almost due westward from the rendezvous, entering the Sacramento valley on the general line of the emigrant road from Truckee River and emerged at Sutter's Fort on the 10th of December. He had, as he wrote, opened a new route, by which he could "ride in thirty-five days from the Boiling Spring River [on the sources of the Arkansas] to Captain Sutter's; and for wagons, the road is decidedly better." Frémont mentions thus what may have been a second object of the expedition, the opening of a better road from the United States into the Sacramento valley.

A third object, clearly stated by Frémont as well as by Secretary of War Marcy, was to open a new route from the vicinity of Klamath Lake into the Willamette valley, through a pass which Frémont had learned about during his second journey. By exploring this pass he expected to make "the road into Oregon far shorter, and a good road, instead of the present very bad one down the Columbia." He adds: "when I shall have made this short exploration I shall have explored from beginning to end this road to Oregon."

It has been assumed by writers on this subject that these three constituted all the legitimate scientific purposes of the expedition. But from statements made by Captain Frémont and others in numerous letters, and from his actual movements after reaching California, it seems very clear that his instructions covered a fourth object. Frémont declared, in 1884, that his main object in the expedition of 1845–1846 was to "find the shortest route for a future railroad to the Pacific, and especially to the neighborhood of San Francisco Bay." Judging from the available contemporary evidence, this statement seems to be correct.

If we consider the circumstances under which the explorer received his commission, we can hardly conceive how a railroad reconnoissance could have been omitted from his instructions. A transcontinental railway had been contemplated for some time. Asa Whitney's project for a line from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Columbia had been presented to Congress during the session which had just closed. George Wilkes, with a counter scheme for a national road to Puget Sound, was bringing pressure to bear upon Congress, and during the year 1845 published his book, the so-called *History of Oregon*, to promote his plan. The newspapers of the time were filled with railroad news, and showed great interest in transcontinental lines.

But Frémont's third journey to the West must also be considered in its relation to the condition of affairs in California and the relations between Mexico and the United States. At that time, the annexation of Texas had just been achieved, an event which Mexico had declared would be tantamount to a declaration of war. And the United States government intended that such a declaration should entail the seizure not only of California but of the Mexican territories lying to the east of California. In fact, the negotiations of 1845 had reference to the purchase by the United States of all these territories; and one strong reason for insisting on the cession of New Mexico, with California, lay in the fact that this territory held a possible railway route to the Pacific. "New Mexico," wrote Lieutenant Emory, "although its soil is barren and its resources limited, . . . is, from its position, in a commercial and military aspect, an all important possession for the United States. The road from Santa Fé to Fort Leavenworth presents few obstacles for a railway, and, if it continues as good to the Pacific, will be one of the routes to be considered, . . ." Having such well-matured plans concerning the acquisition of this territory, it was but natural that the government should cause its exploration, if possible; and in doing so, the question of a railroad



U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena July 8th 1846

Sir,

At half past seven o'clock to-morrow morning I propose landing a considerable body of men under arms, and to march them from the beach to the flag staff in Yerba Buena upon which at 8 o'clock I shall hoist the Flag of the United States under a salute of twenty one guns from the Ship Portsmouth, upon which the Proclamation of the Commander in Chief Commodore Sloat will be read in both languages for the information of the people.

I will thank you therefore to have it translated into Spanish for that purpose at the aforementioned hour - and be pleased to present my compliments to the Alcalde, and say to him if agreeable to him I shall be gratified to see him present on the occasion, that I may, under the authority of the Proclamation, confirm him in his official position until the pleasure of the Commander in Chief shall be known.

I am Respectfully
Your Obt Servt
James W. Montgomery
Commdr

To
William A. Leidesdorff Esqr
Vice Consul of the United States
Yerba Buena

Letter dated on board the *Portsmouth* at Yerba Buena, July 8, 1846, from James B. Montgomery to William A. Leidesdorff announcing his intention of raising the United States flag on shore. *From the original in possession of Mr. P. J. Healy, San Francisco.*



route to San Francisco Bay could hardly have been lost sight of.

Frémont bears incidental testimony, in three letters, to the fact that he was expected to explore a route by way of Colorado River. On April 1st, after General Castro had ordered him out of California, he writes to Mrs. Frémont: "Our government will not require me to return by the southern route against the will of this government; I shall therefore return by the heads of the Missouri." He was then in the Sacramento valley, and aimed to march directly to the Willamette, going through the pass near the head of the Umpqua in order to open the new road to Oregon. From this journey he recoiled, as we shall see, and returned to the Sacramento with the evident determination to brave the hostility of the Californians in the hope of carrying out at least a portion of his plans. On May 24th he wrote to Senator Benton: "I shall now proceed directly homewards by the Colorado, . . ." In still another letter, of July 25th,—also to Senator Benton,—he wrote, speaking of the effect of Castro's action in March, ordering him to leave the country: "one of the main objects proposed by this expedition had been entirely defeated;" which must refer to the southern exploration from San Francisco Bay toward the Colorado. Similar, though not quite so explicit, is the testimony of a letter from Consul Larkin to Secretary Buchanan, written from Monterey, California, on March 4, 1846. He says of Frémont: "He is now in this city surveying, and will be again at this consular house during this month. He then proceeds for the Oregon, returns here in May, and expects to be in Washington about September."

From the above evidence, even in the absence of Frémont's instructions, there is justification in describing his programme about as follows: He proposed, first, to survey the most available route from San Francisco Bay to the Colorado, employing for this purpose the beautiful California spring days of March, by which time his men and

animals would be fit for light service. In April he hoped to be able to force a passage through the Oregon Mountains, from Klamath Lake, going as far as the Willamette valley. Returning to California in May or June, he would proceed to survey the main section of the route, from the lower Colorado to, probably, the Arkansas, which had already been explored.

If this outline of Frémont's purposes be the correct one, his action in proceeding by way of the Santa Clara to the coast, and then up the Salinas valley, need no longer mystify historians as it has unaccountably done for so long a time. A railroad from San Francisco Bay to the Colorado would either have to cross the Sierras by one of the passes lying near the heads of the Tulare River,—in which case it would be carried directly up the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys,—or it would have to run southward near the coast, encountering various obstructions from the complex masses of the coast mountains. In 1846 it was a problem which of these two general routes would be preferable. This problem was still undetermined as late as 1853–1855, when Lieutenant Williamson investigated all the available passes into the Tulare, and Lieutenant Parke examined the alternative route along the coast. To one familiar with the itinerary of Parke,—who started at San José and crossed to the Salinas, then followed to the heads of that river in search of a pass to the Los Angeles plain,—there is no mystery whatever about Frémont's California programme.

On the 27th of January, Frémont visited Larkin at Monterey, travelling alone. While there the prefect of the district, Don Manuel Castro, brother of General Castro, applied in writing to Larkin, requesting to know the object of Frémont's arrival in the department with United States troops, and stating that the information was to be transmitted to the governor of California. Larkin replied (January 29th), saying: "The undersigned is informed by Captain Frémont that he has been ordered to survey the most practicable route from the United States to the Pacific

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John Charles Frémont.

Ocean—that he has left his company consisting of fifty hired men (not of the United States army), on the frontiers of this department, for the purpose of resting themselves and animals. He has come himself to Monterey to obtain clothing, and funds to purchase animals and provisions; and when his men are recruited, intends to continue his journey to the Oregon territory."

It will be observed that this note of the American consul says nothing about contemplated surveying operations within the limits of California, except as they may be inferred from the clause: "he has been ordered to survey the most practicable route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean." It was a formal statement, intended for the eyes of Governor Pico, and probably also for the government in Mexico. There was no occasion for Larkin to be minutely specific; and if he supposed that anything in Frémont's programme might prove unacceptable to Mexico under the strained relations then existing between the two republics, there was reason for a certain vagueness. Particular matters could more safely be left open for oral discussion with the Californian officials, whose devotion to the central government was thought to be lukewarm at best, and whose friendship for Americans had always far surpassed both the theory of the law of Mexico and the instructions of that government.

On the same day on which this note was written, Frémont and Larkin called upon General Castro, Prefect Castro, and the alcalde of Monterey. Larkin says that on these visits the captain "informed them of his business; and there was no objection made." Since this was written after trouble had arisen over Frémont's attempt to survey southward from San José, by way of Santa Cruz, Monterey, and the Salinas, it is fair to assume that the oral discussion covered this feature of his plan. Larkin also states that it was "well known in Monterey that he [Frémont] was to return [to Monterey] when he had collected his men," and that the officials had given Frémont assurances which

justified him in expecting no interference with his plans. The natives, he says "sold him provisions and liked his presence." We have, therefore, good reasons for believing that this formal written statement was interpreted or supplemented by a more complete oral one, which to all appearances satisfied the Californian officials.

About the middle of February, Frémont collected his men near the pueblo of San José in Santa Clara valley. From there he marched slowly southwest, crossing the Santa Cruz range at Los Gatos, the route of the modern railroad, and reached the coast near Santa Cruz. He then followed the shore of Monterey Bay to the mouth of Salinas River, marched some twenty miles up the valley, and encamped at Hartnell's ranch on the 3d of March.

On the 5th he was ready to move on, when couriers arrived from the general and the prefect ordering him to leave California without delay, or incur the hostility of the officers and people. "This morning at seven," wrote General Castro, "information reached this office that you and your party had entered the settlements of this department; and this being prohibited by our laws, I find myself obliged to notify you that on receipt of this you must immediately retire beyond the limits of the department, such being the orders of the supreme government, which the undersigned is under obligation of enforcing." The letter of the prefect was even more peremptory in tone: "I have learned with surprise," he says, "that you, against the laws and authorities of the Mexican Republic have entered the pueblos of this district under my charge, with an armed force, on a commission which the government of your nation must have given you to survey solely its own territory. Therefore, this prefecture orders you as soon as you receive this communication, without any excuse, to retire with your men beyond the limits of this department; it being understood that if you do not do it, this prefecture will adopt the necessary measures to make you respect this determination." There is no claim in these

letters that Frémont had taken more privileges than were granted him, but in effect it is asserted that none were granted him. This action of the Californian officials has been justified on the ground that Frémont had neither asked nor received permission to bring his men into the coast towns; that he was allowed only to recruit his men and horses in the San Joaquin valley, where there were no settlements.

On receiving the letters of the Castros, Frémont moved his men to the neighboring mountain, called the Gavilan Peak, where he proceeded to fortify his camp with logs in anticipation of an attack by the Californians. He remained quietly in camp for several days. On the 8th, Larkin wrote him a letter indicating a belief that the Californians would make an attack. Before reading the letter Frémont pencilled a hasty note to the consul, which concludes, rather dramatically: "We have in no wise done wrong to the people or the authorities of the country, and if we are hemmed in and assaulted here, we will die, every man of us, under the flag of our country."

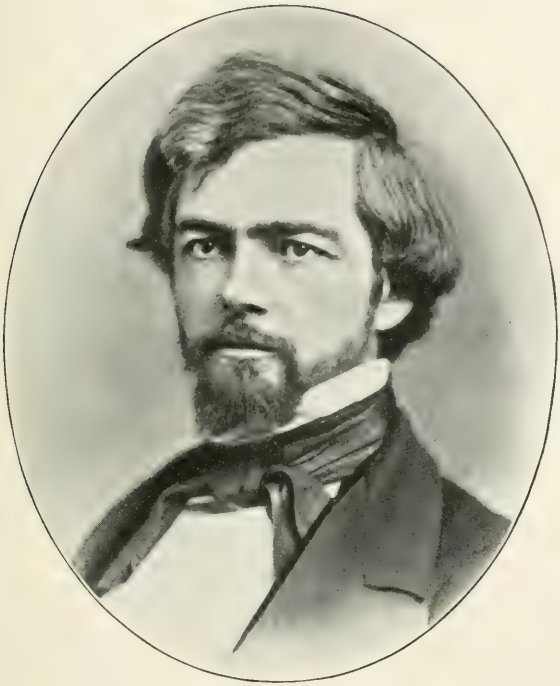
Perhaps Frémont expected that this warlike proclamation from Gavilan would come to the ears of the Californians,—as it did, through Larkin,—and produce a quieting effect upon them. If so, he was not entirely wrong in his calculations. The next day Castro was prepared to march; but he decided first to send an envoy to the American camp with an offer to adjust matters. When the messenger reached Gavilan he found the place deserted, the fires still burning, and a few cast-off pack saddles lying about. Frémont had started early on his march, influenced probably to some extent by Larkin's letter received the night before.

Castro reported to the supreme government that Frémont, "taking advantage of the darkness [had] abandoned the fortification without doubt precipitately." Castro did not follow Frémont, and on his return to Monterey issued a "flaming proclamation to the citizens, informing them that a band of freebooters under Captain Frémont of the United States army, had come into this district; but with

the company of two hundred patriots, he had driven them away."

There is no doubt that the Mexican authorities feared the effect which the presence of so large a party of Americans might have upon the foreign population of the country; and they might, under the circumstances, have been justified in withholding the permission which both Frémont and Larkin declare was given the captain to carry out his exploring plans. But first to grant permission, whether explicitly or tacitly, and then suddenly to pretend that it had not been granted, was exceedingly reprehensible; unless, indeed, the entire difficulty resulted from a misunderstanding, which is only barely possible. It is also true that Frémont took special pains, as he was bound to do, not to give needless offence by his presence. He refused to receive foreigners who offered to join his party, and even discharged several of his own men who wished to settle in the country, without filling the places thus left vacant in his company. When commanded by the alcalde of San José to give up one of his horses—an animal which Frémont said had been brought from the United States—to a Californian who claimed that it had been stolen from him, the captain refused to comply with the order, and even used sharp language in denouncing the person who sought to rob him. But when one of his men was charged with rudeness to a Californian woman, Frémont made an investigation and had the offender punished.

Larkin at first supposed that Frémont, after leaving Gavilan, had gone to Santa Barbara, whither an agent had been sent in February with money and supplies,—one more proof that Frémont was engaged in surveying a coast route for a railway,—for the consul seemed to think that, in spite of the Californian authorities, it was still possible for Frémont to carry out his plans. But Captain Frémont had, as he wrote on April 1st, "become disgusted with everything belonging to the Mexicans. . . . Our government," he continued, "will not require me to return by the southern



General Isaac Ingalls Stevens, first governor of the Washington Territory. *From the original in possession of Hazard Stevens, Esq., of Boston.*


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route against the will of this government; I shall therefore return by the heads of the Missouri . . . I go in about two weeks through from the Klamath Lake to the Walamath Valley to make a reconnoissance of the pass which I mentioned . . . before."

At the time of Frémont's conflict with Castro, there was a strong feeling among the American settlers, supported to some extent by other foreigners, in favor of revolutionizing the Californian government. One of the agitators, Robert Semple, wrote on April 10th: "We were all in hopes that Frémont would remain until attacked by the commandant which would have been the signal for an united action of the foreigners to form a new government. We were all waiting for the word to rally round the 'Stars and Stripes'; and under it declare California free from the Mexicans." That Frémont knew of this sentiment is proved by his letters, and those of Larkin. Yet there is no evidence that he attempted to make use of it in the way of revenge for the ill treatment he had just received, for the sake of personal notoriety, or to create a situation which would have enabled him to complete the survey of the coast route to the south. Instead, he proposed to give up the survey, and with it the reconnoissance of the Colorado route, and to confine his future operations to Oregon.

About the middle of April, Frémont's party started northward, and, after a march of more than three weeks, encamped on May 8th near the northern end of Klamath Lake. Snow was still falling in the mountains, and the road to Oregon seemed blocked. Possibly this was one reason for giving up the northern trip, and, according to the explorer's later testimony, he was already contemplating changing his plans when an incident occurred which hastened his return southward. During the night of May 8th two horsemen arrived at Frémont's camp. They were the advance of a small party which was escorting Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, a confidential agent of the United States, who was reported to be two days behind and very anxious to overtake

the captain. By riding all next day with a few of his men, Frémont met Gillespie just at evening, and the travellers, sixteen in number, camped for the night. Before dawn of the 10th they were attacked by a band of Klamath Indians, and three of them were killed. The camp was at once raised, and just before the end of the month the party reached the Sacramento, encamping at "The Buttes."

The next and most dramatic episode in Frémont's operations of this eventful year the captain has related. The story is from his letter of July 25, 1846, to Senator Benton. Frémont says: "I had scarcely reached the lower Sacramento, when General Castro, then in the north (at Sonoma, . . .), declared his intention immediately to proceed against the foreigners settled in the country, for whose expulsion an order had just been issued by the governor of the Californias. For these purposes Castro immediately assembled a force at the mission of Santa Clara, a strong place, . . .

"You will remember how grossly outraged and insulted we had already been by this officer; many in my own camp and throughout the country thought that I should not have retreated in March last. I felt humiliated and humbled; one of the main objects proposed by this expedition had been entirely defeated, and it was the opinion of the officers of the squadron (so I was informed by Mr. Gillespie) that I could not again retreat consistently with any military reputation. Unable to procure supplies elsewhere, I had sent by Mr. Gillespie to Captain Montgomery, commanding the United States ship of war *Portsmouth*, then lying at Monterey, for such supplies as were indispensably necessary to leave the valley; and my animals were now in such a state that I could not get out of the valley without reaching the country which lies on the west [east side of the mountains] in an entirely destitute condition.

"Having carefully examined my position, and foreseeing, I think, clearly, all the consequences which may eventuate from such a step, I determined to take such active and anticipatory measures as should seem to me most expedient


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to protect my party and justify my own character. I was well aware of the grave responsibility which I assumed, but I was also determined that, having once decided to do so, I would assume it and its consequences fully and entirely, and go through with the business completely to the end. I regret that, by a sudden emergency, I have only an hour for writing to all friends, and that therefore from the absence of detail, what I say to you will not be clearly understood.

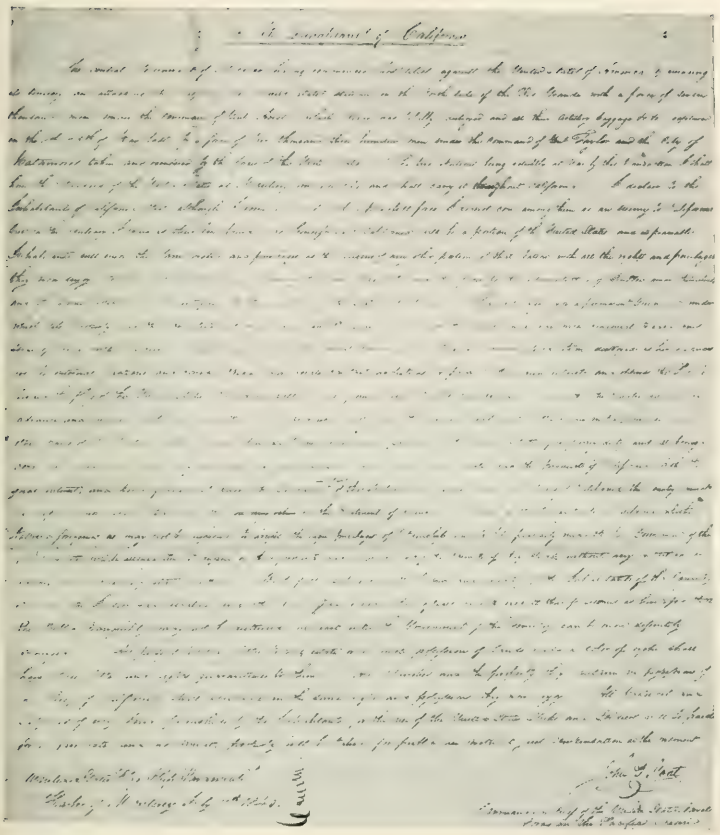
"Castro's first measure was an attempt to incite the Indian population of the Joaquin and Sacramento valleys, and the neighboring mountains, to burn the crops of the foreigners and otherwise proceed immediately against them. These Indians are extremely numerous, and the success of his measures would have been very destructive; but he failed entirely. On the 6th of June I decided on the course which I would pursue, and immediately concerted my operations with the foreigners inhabiting the Sacramento valley.

"A few days afterwards, one of Castro's officers, with a party of fourteen men, attempted to pass a drove of 200 horses from Sonoma to Santa Clara, via New Helvetia, with the avowed purpose of bringing troops into the country. On the 11th of June they were surprised at daylight on the Cosumne River by a party of twelve from my camp. The horses were taken, but they (the men) were dismissed without injury. At daybreak on the 15th, the military fort of Sonoma was taken by surprise, with nine brass pieces of artillery, 250 stand of muskets, some other arms, and a quantity of ammunition. General Vallejo, his brother (Captain Vallejo), Col. Greuxdon, and some others were taken prisoners, and placed at New Helvetia, a fortified post under my command. These enterprises accomplished, I proceeded to the American settlements on the Sacramento and the Rio de los Americanos to obtain reinforcements of men and rifles. In the meantime, a launch had reached New Helvetia with stores from the ship *Portsmouth*, now lying at Yerba Buena, on San Francisco Bay. News of General Castro's proceedings against me in March had reached Commodore

Sloat at Mazatlan at the end of that month, and he had immediately dispatched the ship *Portsmouth* to Monterey, with general instructions to protect American interests in California.

"The information brought by Mr. Gillespie to Captain Montgomery, in relation to my position, induced that officer immediately to proceed to Yerba Buena, whence he had dispatched his launch to me. I immediately wrote to him, by return of the boat, describing to him fully my position and intentions, in order that he might not, by supposing me to be acting under orders from my government, unwittingly commit himself in offering me other than such assistance as his instructions would authorize him naturally to offer an officer charged with an important public duty; or in fine, to any citizen of the United States.

"Information having reached me from the commanding officer at Sonoma, that his post was threatened with an attack by a force under General Castro, I raised camp on the American fork on the afternoon of the 23d, and accompanied by Mr. Gillespie, at two in the morning of the 25th, reached Sonoma with ninety mounted riflemen, having marched eighty miles. Our people still held the place, only one division of Castro's force, a squadron of cavalry numbering seventy men, and commanded by Joaquin de la Torre (one of his best officers), having succeeded in crossing the straits [San Francisco Bay]. This force had attacked an advance party of twenty Americans, and was defeated with the loss of two killed and two or three wounded. The Americans lost none. This was an unexpected check to the Californians, who had announced their intention to defeat our people without firing a gun; to beat out their brains with their 'tapaderos,' and destroy them 'con cuchillos puros.' They were led to use this expression from the circumstance that a few days previous they had captured two of our men (an express), and after wounding, had bound them to trees, and cut them to pieces while alive, with an exaggeration of cruelty which no Indian



Commodore Sloat's proclamation, written on board the *Savannah*, to the inhabitants of California on the occasion when he took possession at Monterey, July 7, 1846. *From the original in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.*

would be capable of. In a few days de la Torre was driven from the country, having barely succeeded in effecting his escape across the straits. The guns (six large and handsome pieces) were spiked at the fort on the south side of the entrance to San Francisco Bay, and the communication with the opposite side entirely cut off, the boats and launches being either destroyed or in our possession. Three of Castro's party having landed on the Sonoma side in advance, were killed near the beach; and beyond this there was no loss on either side. In all these proceedings, Mr. Gillespie has acted with me.

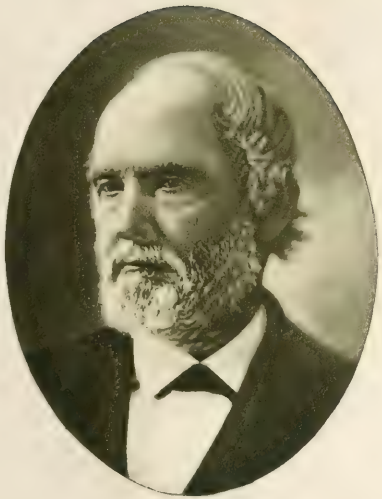
"We reached Sonoma again on the evening of July 4th, and in the morning I called the people together, and spoke to them in relation to the position of the country, advising a course of operations which was unanimously adopted. California was declared independent, the country put under martial law, the force organized and officers elected. A pledge, binding themselves to support these measures, and to obey their officers, was signed by those present. The whole was placed under my direction. Several officers from the *Portsmouth* [were] present at this meeting. Leaving Captain Grigsby with fifty men in command of Sonoma, I left that place on the 6th, and reached my encampment on the American fork in three days. Before we arrived at that place, General Castro had evacuated Santa Clara, which he had been engaged in fortifying, and with a force of about four hundred men, and two pieces of artillery, commenced his retreat from St. Johns, a fortified post, having eight pieces of artillery, principally brass. On the evening of the [10th] we were electrified by the arrival of an express from Captain Montgomery, with information that Commodore Sloat had hoisted the flag of the United States at Monterey, and taken possession of the country. Captain Montgomery had hoisted the flag at Yerba Buena, and sent one to Sonoma to be hoisted at that place. One also was sent to the officer commanding at New Helvetia, requesting that it might be hoisted at his post.

"Independence and the flag of the United States are synonymous terms to the foreigners here (the northern, which is the stronger part, particularly), and accordingly I directed the flag to be hoisted with a salute the next morning [July 11th]. The event produced great rejoicing among our people. The next day I received an express from Commodore Sloat, transmitting to me his proclamation, and directing [me] to proceed with the force under my orders to Monterey. The registered force, actually in arms, under my orders, numbered two hundred and twenty riflemen, with one piece of field artillery, and ten men, in addition to the artillery of the garrison. We were on the eve of marching in pursuit of Castro when this intelligence arrived; accordingly, I directed my march upon Monterey, where I arrived on the evening of the 19th, with a command of one hundred and sixty mounted riflemen, and one piece of artillery. I found also there Commodore Stockton, in command of the *Congress*, and Admiral Seymour in command of Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Collingwood*, of eighty guns. I have been badly interrupted, and shall scarcely be able to put you in full possession of occurrences.

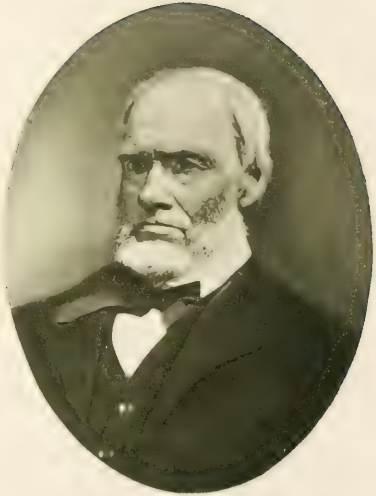
"To come briefly to a conclusion, Commodore Sloat has transferred the squadron with California and its appurtenances into the hands of Commodore Stockton, who has resolved to make good the possession of California. This officer approves entirely of the course pursued by myself and Mr. Gillespie, who, I repeat, has been hand in hand with me in this business. I received this morning from Commodore Stockton a commission of major in the United States army, retaining command of my battalion, to which a force of eighty marines will be attached. We are under orders to embark to-morrow morning on board the *Cyane* sloop-of-war, and disembark at San Diego, immediately in the rear of Castro. He is now at the Pueblo de los Angeles, an interior city, with a force of about five hundred men, supposed to be increasing. The design is to attack him with my force at that place. He has there seven or eight pieces of artillery."

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PETER HARDEMAN BURNETT

JOHN AUGUSTUS SUTTER

JAMES WILSON MARSHALL

From photographs in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

This is by far the clearest and simplest contemporary statement of the incidents connected with the notable revolt of the American settlers, the raising of the "Bear Flag" at Sonoma, and the participation of Frémont in these activities, which has come down to us. A number of questions have arisen in relation to these events, however, which, while not deserving of the relative amount of space accorded them in some recent books on the subject, ought not to be passed over in silence.

In the first place, there has been a serious question as to the reason for Frémont's return from the north, it being assumed that Gillespie's appearance on the shores of Klamath Lake with dispatches from Washington was the true cause of his change of plans, rather than the Cascade snows or the hostility of the savages in that region. That the American settlers, as well as the Californians, believed Gillespie to be the bearer of important secret dispatches from the government to Frémont, can be established by an abundance of evidence. Gillespie was an object of the greatest interest from the time he landed at Monterey, on the 17th of April, until he had passed up through the valley into the northern mountains. On going to San Francisco, Gillespie bore letters from Larkin to Vice-consul Leidesdorff, urging that he be given the best room during his stay, and that on his departure he be furnished with horses, money, or whatever equipment he might need on the journey to overtake Frémont. When Gillespie left San Francisco, Leidesdorff wrote to Larkin intimating broadly that he understood both Gillespie's true character (he had been represented as an American business man travelling for his health, who wanted to come up with Frémont and accompany him on his explorations), and the nature of the intelligence he bore. "What glorious news for Frémont," says the vice-consul, "I think I see him smile."

Sutter and the Americans about New Helvetia shrewdly guessed at the traveller's object, the Swiss captain declaring

in a letter to Leidesdorff that nobody was deceived by his assumed character. All along his trail, too, Gillespie appears to have dropped suggestions which assured the people that war was probably in progress between the United States and Mexico.

When, therefore, in the latter part of May, Frémont returned from the Klamath country with Gillespie, it was concluded that the surmises had been confirmed. There would hardly be two opinions as to why the explorer had been called back. Secret orders from Washington had directed him to remain in California, watch proceedings, and perhaps even seek an opportunity to revolutionize the country in favor of the United States. This policy had been dictated by the fear that California might, in case of war between Mexico and the United States fall into the hands of Great Britain.

Frémont himself has at various times given testimony which, if correct, would show the American settlers to have reached approximately the correct conclusion. He stated in 1884 that Gillespie brought a dispatch from the government and also a letter from Benton. The first of these, as elucidated more fully by the last, written, as it were, in "family cipher," convinced him that the government wished his party to remain in California, where he could watch the course of events and take measures to protect the nation's interest. It is almost certain, however, that he received no direct communication from the government, except a dispatch which Buchanan had sent to Larkin and which Gillespie repeated to Frémont. But in this document to Larkin a peace policy was outlined, not a policy of war and conquest. Larkin was instructed to do all in his power to keep the good will of the people, so that should war break out between the United States and Mexico the ports of California might be possessed by the American fleet without opposition on their part. Should there be no war, the government hoped that the Californians would declare their independence of Mexico and voluntarily apply to the United

States for protection, perhaps for admission into the Union after the manner of Texas.

Messages of similar import were sent to Commodore Sloat, commanding the American Pacific squadron, which during the winter lay at Mazatlan. If he learned of the outbreak of hostilities he was to make all haste to occupy San Francisco and other ports on the California coast, if possible with the free consent of the inhabitants.

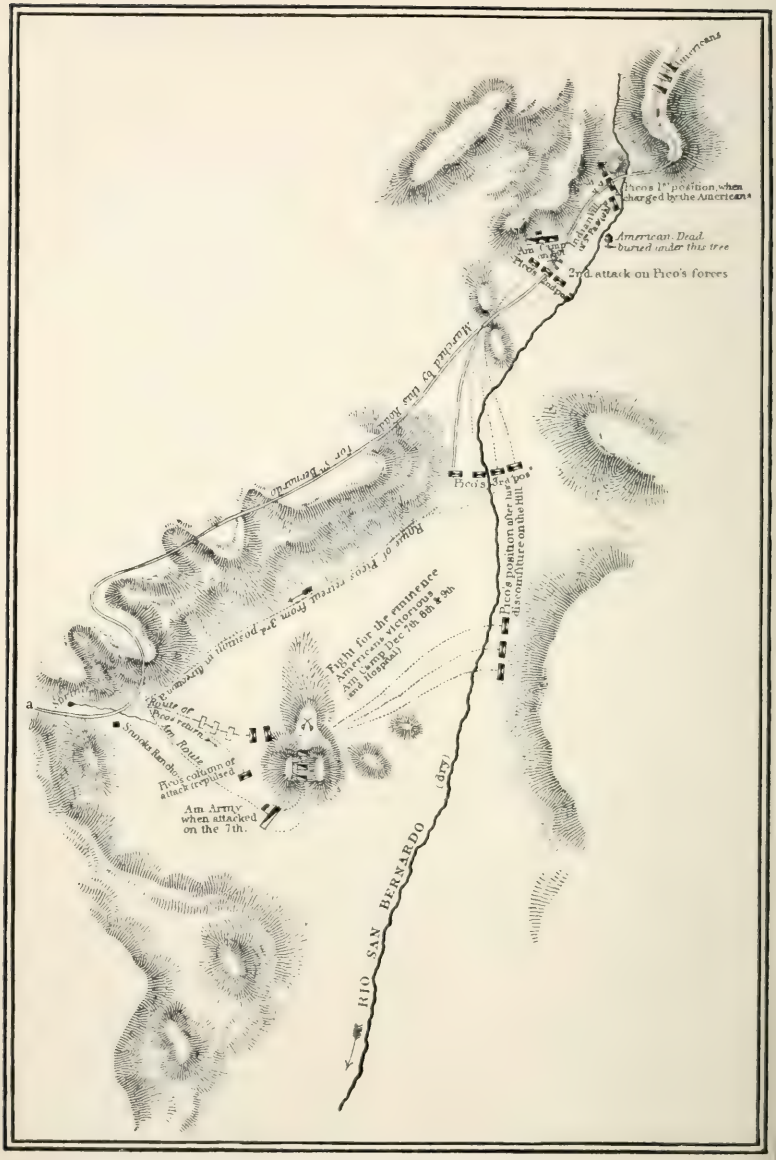
So far as the avowed wishes of the administration go, they appear to have been distinctly at variance with the policy executed by Frémont and Gillespie. But there were possible contingencies not covered by the written instructions. If, in the event of war between the United States and Mexico, the Californians should show a disposition to sustain the cause of the latter, even to the extent of doing violence to the Americans already in the country; and if the naval force on which so much depended should for some reason delay its appearance; the question arises as to what would have been the wishes of the government. There is reason to suppose that it would not have regretted the revolutionizing of California by means of the American settlers already there, and the establishment of an independent government favorable to the United States.

It was nearly these latter conditions which prevailed in California and which may have caused Frémont and Gillespie to pursue the course that they adopted. The latter had travelled through Mexico during the winter, and had seen the government of that country revolutionized by Paredes, the violent enemy of the United States. He knew, almost to a certainty, that the continuance of peaceful relations between the neighboring republics could last but a few weeks longer at most. At Mazatlan, in February, Gillespie had found an English fleet under Admiral Seymour which was much stronger than the American squadron under Sloat, and which was evidently watching every movement of the latter with the obvious purpose of thwarting, if possible, the occupation of California for the United States.

Indeed, war with Great Britain was by no means an impossible contingency, in view of the strained relations over the Oregon question; and even without such a war, Seymour might be expected to find a pretext for preventing Sloat from taking California. Whether or not this was the actual programme of the British, as that programme now stands revealed by documentary evidence, is nothing to the point; the whole question turns on what Americans believed to be their intention, and on this there can be no difference of opinion.

Gillespie reached Monterey on April 17th, and five days later the *Portsmouth*, Captain Montgomery, arrived at the same port, with news of reported hostilities between the Mexicans and the Americans on the Atlantic coast. While this intelligence failed to reach Gillespie until after his return to the Sacramento with Frémont, it is certain that when he met Frémont in the Klamath country he assured the captain that war was doubtless in progress, and that by going to Oregon he would be leaving the place where, in view of the temper of the Californians and the watchful attitude of the British fleet, his services might be needed. Gillespie had been in personal communication with the administration at a later period than anyone else then on the Pacific coast, and there is reason to suppose that he believed himself possessed of a knowledge of the president's real desires. Nor is it easy to resist the conclusion, accepted without a question by everybody at the time, that Gillespie's journey in quest of Frémont was for the express purpose of recalling that officer to the scene of action. Later writers contend that he had no other motive for this toilsome and dangerous expedition than to bear a packet of letters from Benton, and to recite to the captain the instructions brought out for Larkin; but it cannot be believed that Larkin's instructions would have been useful to an officer who was about to enter the defiles of the Cascades, and who expected to proceed directly to the United States "by the heads of the Missouri." And concerning





Plan of the actions fought at San Pasqual, Upper California, on December 6 and 7, 1846. *From the collection of George Barrie, Jr.*

Benton's letters, it has been discovered that the government had intended sending them through the Mexican mails to Larkin, and had instructed that officer to forward them or not at his discretion. Afterward this resolution was changed, and the packet was placed in the hands of Gillespie.

Again, in spite of Frémont's declaration in his letters of May 24th and July 25th, it is hard to believe that the snow of the Cascade Mountains, in latitude forty-one degrees, on May 8th, was a sufficient barrier to deter the intrepid explorer who had crossed the Sierras in the month of February, 1844, and who must have known when he left the Sacramento what he might expect in the northern mountains. Even had he concluded not to cross the range at this time, it was still possible to carry out his plan of exploring a road to Oregon by going to the Columbia along his old trail down the Des Chutes, and returning by way of the Willamette and the Umpqua. Supplies could have been procured on the Willamette just as well as on the Sacramento; and the distance from his camp at the north end of Klamath Lake to the Columbia was no greater—or very little greater—than to Sutter's Fort, while the difficulties of the northern journey were very much less than those encountered on the return trip to California. Since Frémont was bound to avoid implicating the government in his proceedings, it seems probable that the snow and the hostile Indians furnished a convenient excuse for turning southward.

The resolution to return once made the rest followed almost inevitably. The Californians had been active, both in a political and military way, since the incidents of the preceding March when Frémont had been forced to leave the country. Castro's behavior on that occasion was explained by Larkin on the theory that he was trying to ingratiate himself with the Mexican government, which had recently been revolutionized; and this appears to be the only reasonable explanation. In April and May a junto of Californian officials, including the two Castros and Vallejo, was in session at Monterey for the purpose of considering

the state of the country. It was determined to support the transformed Mexican government and to fortify the northern towns against a possible foreign invasion. Castro proceeded to raise troops at Santa Clara, much bitterness was engendered against Americans, and the belief became current that the general was instigating the Indians to burn their crops. It may not be possible to prove that anything beyond defensive measures were contemplated by the Californians, but in view of the feeling against his countrymen and the probability that war had already been declared between the United States and Mexico, Frémont was justified in devising means for protecting the American settlers against possible attack. These defensive measures on both sides passed almost insensibly into acts of hostility, perhaps by the fault of Americans whose operations Frémont might have controlled. Afterward the captain openly assumed the leadership of all the American forces and made himself master of the entire north, as we have seen.

But others besides Frémont took part in the conquest of California. Commodore Sloat was at Mazatlan in February, closely watched by Admiral Seymour. In March a report reached the Pacific that hostilities had begun on the Atlantic side. Sloat determined not to be premature in his movements and waited, but news from the north, telling of Frémont's difficulty with Castro, induced him to dispatch the *Portsmouth* to Monterey, where she arrived April 22d. On May 17th fairly definite news came telling of fighting on the Rio Grande; but Sloat waited at Mazatlan, uncertain whether events authorized him to occupy San Francisco and other Californian ports, as he had been ordered to do "promptly" on learning of the outbreak of hostilities. On May 31st he received reports of General Taylor's battles at Matamoros of May 8th and 9th. He decided to act; but "upon more mature reflection" changed his mind, deeming that he had no right to commit any hostile act upon Mexico, as neither party had as yet declared war. When the letter containing these sentiments came under

the eyes of the administration, the secretary of the navy, George Bancroft, wrote the commodore as follows: "The department willingly believes in the purity of your intentions; but your anxiety not to do wrong has led you into a most unfortunate and unwarranted inactivity." Sloat was at once relieved of his command. The treatment of an officer who was too slow in his movements contrasts significantly with that accorded Frémont, who might properly have been reprimanded for acting prematurely, but who received only commendation. The order relieving Sloat, written August 18th, did not reach him until after the war in California was over, but fortunately he had decided to risk action, and putting his ships under way on June 8th, arrived at Monterey July 2d. Even then he hesitated about taking possession of the Californian ports, until he learned, on July 5th, that Frémont and the Americans had already revolutionized the country to the northward. This mental condition of the commodore seems to have been due partly to the influence of Larkin, who strangely enough still believed that the Californians could be persuaded to ask for union with America.

But finally, on the 7th of July, Sloat hoisted the American flag, "preferring," as he wrote to Montgomery, to be "sacrificed for doing too much than too little." He did not order Montgomery to do the same at San Francisco, but permitted him to do so, and Montgomery was not unwilling to assume the responsibility. On July 9th the flag was raised, with a salute of twenty-one guns, amidst great rejoicing on the part of the Americans present. Montgomery sent flags to Sonoma and to New Helvetia to be hoisted at those posts, and thus the occupation of California was rendered effective before the arrival of Admiral Seymour on July 16th.

Sloat attempted the policy of conciliation in his dealings with Castro, but that officer was in no mood to be at once placated, and remained defiant. After the raising of the flag the commodore sent for Frémont, who marched to

Monterey with his battalion, expecting to be of further service in the war against Castro. When Sloat learned that all the captain had done had been without authority from Washington he was again in doubt as to what course to pursue. However, Commodore Stockton, who had arrived from the Atlantic with the ship *Congress* on the 15th of July, was quite ready to help him to solve his problems by assuming the responsibilities before which the senior officer stood irresolute. Stockton took command of the fleet, accepted the services of Frémont's battalion, commissioned the captain as major, and proceeded with the conquest. On the 29th of July, he issued a proclamation, written in the bombastic style of Mexican *bandos*, which was intended to produce a profound impression on the natives, but its tone reflects little credit upon the author.

Castro had gone south to form a junction with Governor Pico, his enemy of former days, and the two leaders determined to join forces against the Americans. Los Angeles became the centre of the new movement, and thither Frémont and Stockton repaired, the former coming up from San Diego whither he had sailed in the *Cyane* at the end of July, the latter from San Pedro where he arrived early in August. Castro having made some overtures of surrender to Stockton which were refused, he and Pico soon afterward set out for Mexico, while their army disintegrated. On the 13th of August, 1846, the combined forces of Stockton and Frémont entered Los Angeles, raised the American flag, and the conquest of California was complete.

CHAPTER XVI

THE YEARS OF TRANSITION

On the 3d of June, 1846, General S. W. Kearny, who was at Fort Leavenworth preparing for an advance upon Mexico's territory, received orders to proceed to New Mexico, and after its conquest to go to California. Reaching Santa Fé August 17th, he took formal possession of the entire territory for the United States, appointed officers, arranged for garrisons to keep the country in order, and then, on the 25th of August, with three hundred men of the First Dragoons, marched westward. On the 12th of October he met Kit Carson, who had been dispatched by Frémont to carry dispatches to Washington, and from him Kearny learned that the war in the Far West was over; that California had been proclaimed a part of the United States, and that the American flag was flying from every important place in that territory.

Upon receiving this news, Kearny sent back all but one hundred men, and then went forward to take charge of affairs in California, as he had been ordered to do. He reconnoitred the route for a highway, and on reaching the mouth of the Gila wrote that a wagon road from the Rio Grande to that place, if found at all, must lie on the south side of Gila River; because on the north the stream was bounded by steep mountains. For this reason the boundary line between the United States and Mexico should not run north of the thirty-second degree of latitude. Kearny crossed the Colorado a few miles below the junction with

the Gila, continued southward about thirty miles farther, and then turned off and marched sixty miles northwestward across the desert, finding in that space neither water nor grass. He finally reached Warner's Ranch, the frontier settlement of California, on the 2d of December. Three days later, while on the way toward San Diego, he learned through an express from Stockton that the Californians to the number of six or seven hundred men were in arms.

In order to understand this situation, it will be necessary to go back to the time when Stockton and Frémont took formal possession of the country, at Los Angeles. Stockton, though regarding the conquest as completed, returned to San Francisco by sea, having heard rumors of trouble in that quarter, and ordered Frémont to meet him there at the end of October. Gillespie was left in charge of the South, with fifty men at Los Angeles. On September 23d, this garrison, weakened by the absence of a detachment at San Diego, was attacked by a small band of lawless Californians bent on plunder and other mischief. Gillespie assumed that the assault indicated a serious revolutionary outbreak, and soon the affair wore that aspect. The Californians flocked to the standard of Captain Flores, one of Castro's officers, who was chosen *commandante general.* News of this revolt was carried northward by an American named John Brown, who rode the five hundred miles from Los Angeles to San Francisco in six days; but before help could be sent southward Gillespie was forced to surrender Los Angeles, though he was allowed to march to San Pedro and take ship without molestation. The other garrisons, of San Diego and Santa Barbara, were also driven out, and the entire South was cleared of American troops. The Californians held an assembly, chose Flores governor as well as general, and made such preparations as they could to maintain their independence of the United States pending the negotiation of a treaty between that country and Mexico.

Stockton at that time expected to leave California for Mexico, to participate actively in the war, and he had

dispatched Frémont to the American settlements in the great valley to raise troops. But the report of John Brown at the end of September brought him back to the south by sea, and he recalled Frémont and his riflemen from the Sacramento. Frémont embarked to go down to Santa Barbara by sea, but was forced to return to Monterey, through lack of saddle and pack animals in the South. Stockton went to San Diego, intending to make an attack on Los Angeles from that point. This was the situation when, early in December, Kearny crossed the coast mountains with his dragoons.

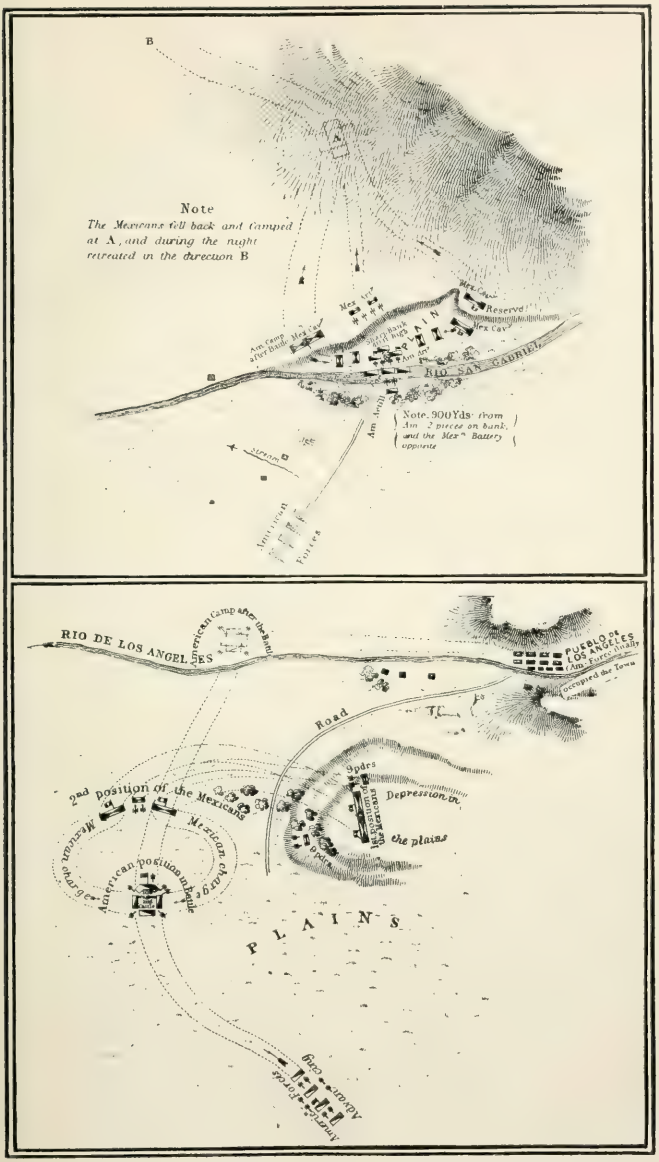
A force of about one hundred men, under Andreas Pico, brother of the governor, lay at San Pasqual, on San Bernardo River, only a few miles from Kearny's camp. Here an engagement occurred on December 6, 1846, in which the Californians were forced from the field. But the American losses were heavy, eighteen men and officers being killed outright and thirteen more wounded, including Kearny himself. With no means of transporting the wounded, and with an insufficient supply of food and water, these troops, who had marched two thousand miles across mountain and desert found themselves in a precarious situation. They remained in the neighborhood four days, warding off the attacks of the enemy as best they could, and on the night of the 10th were joined by about eighty marines sent by Commodore Stockton from San Diego. The whole force then set out for that place, which was reached next day.

Upon the arrival of Kearny in California began that dispute between Kearny and Stockton, which fills so large a proportion of the correspondence of the time and mars the fame of both officers, but particularly that of Stockton. This officer had, in consequence of orders issued to Commodore Sloat, undertaken the conquest of California, and, having completed the work, had begun to organize a government with himself as head. But Kearny's instructions made him military governor of the territory, an office whose functions he prepared to exercise. Stockton demurred,

whereupon Kearny sent him copies of his instructions from Washington, issued June 3 and 18, 1846. No agreement could be reached, Stockton insisting that he must await a reply from Washington to his communications of August, 1846, before consenting to relinquish his authority.

At the request of Stockton, so Kearny says, the general took command of an expedition to Los Angeles with five hundred men, including sixty dismounted dragoons, fifty California volunteers, one battery of artillery, and a force of sailors and marines. The commodore accompanied the army, which started from San Diego on the 29th of December. At the crossing of San Gabriel River, January 8, 1847, the enemy, under Governor Flores, made an attack with six hundred cavalry and four field pieces. The Americans were charged, but without success, and after a fight, lasting an hour and a half, the United States forces encamped on the field. Resuming their march on the 9th, they were again attacked, but succeeded in reaching the vicinity of Los Angeles before nightfall. The next day they entered the town, and four days later Frémont joined them.

That officer, who had recently received a commission from the secretary of war raising him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, began the march southward from the vicinity of Monterey at the end of November. His progress had been unopposed by the Californians, but he encountered many difficulties from the winter rains and almost impassable trails. Reaching Santa Barbara on the 27th of December, he spent a week in camp to rest his men and horses, and then continued in the direction of Los Angeles. In the neighborhood of San Fernando Mission representatives from the defeated Californian army met Frémont and begged him to enter into treaty negotiations with them. As the result of this request a capitulation was arranged on January 13th. Its terms were liberal, wise, and humane. All the circumstances connected with the transaction reflect credit upon Frémont. On January 14th, he entered Los Angeles, and



Plan of the passage of the Rio San Gabriel, Upper California January 8, 1847, when the Americans discomfited the opposing Mexican forces; and of the battle of Los Angeles, January 9, 1847. *From the collection of George Barrie, Jr.*

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submitted the treaty to Stockton for his approval, which was obtained.

Meantime, there had been some irregular fighting in the north, headed on the Californian side by a rancher named Francisco Sanchez. He had gathered about one hundred men in the Santa Clara valley, but surrendered to a small American force under Captain Marston, of the marines, on the 8th of January. Thus when Stockton, Kearny, and Frémont united their forces at Los Angeles on the 14th of January, 1847, the second conquest of California was completed.

The quarrel between Stockton and Kearny, however, continued, and was complicated by the attitude of Frémont. The latter had been appointed by Stockton military governor of California, and when Kearny arrived was not prepared to accept a subordinate rôle, and although the general was his superior officer, refused to receive orders from him. It seemed for a time as if civil war might occur among the conquerors themselves; but this disaster was averted. Kearny, who had entered the country with very few troops, and had lost a portion of these at San Pasqual, was not in a position to insist strongly on his rights. He therefore decided to remain quiet for a time, throwing all responsibility upon his rival. He accordingly withdrew to San Diego, where, at the end of January, he was joined by the Mormon battalion of three hundred and fifty men. He then sailed, January 31st, to Monterey, made that place the capital of California, and began issuing orders and commissions as governor of the country.

Stockton about that time was superseded in command of the squadron by Commodore Shubrick, between whom and General Kearny there was the most perfect harmony. They compared instructions, agreed on a division of functions, and on the 1st of March issued a joint proclamation to the people of California. They declared that the president of the United States was desirous of affording the Californians the benefits of good government and a share in it; that he was determined to protect them not only from

foreign powers, but also from dissensions within. He had, therefore, given to the chief naval and military officers separate and distinct functions, in the exercise of which they demanded the coöperation of the people. The military commander had been invested with authority to direct all land military operations, and also with administrative power over the people and territories under control of the military forces. The naval commander had power to fix the conditions on which vessels could be admitted to the ports and to make all port regulations. Kearny signed the document as commander-in-chief of the military forces and governor of California.

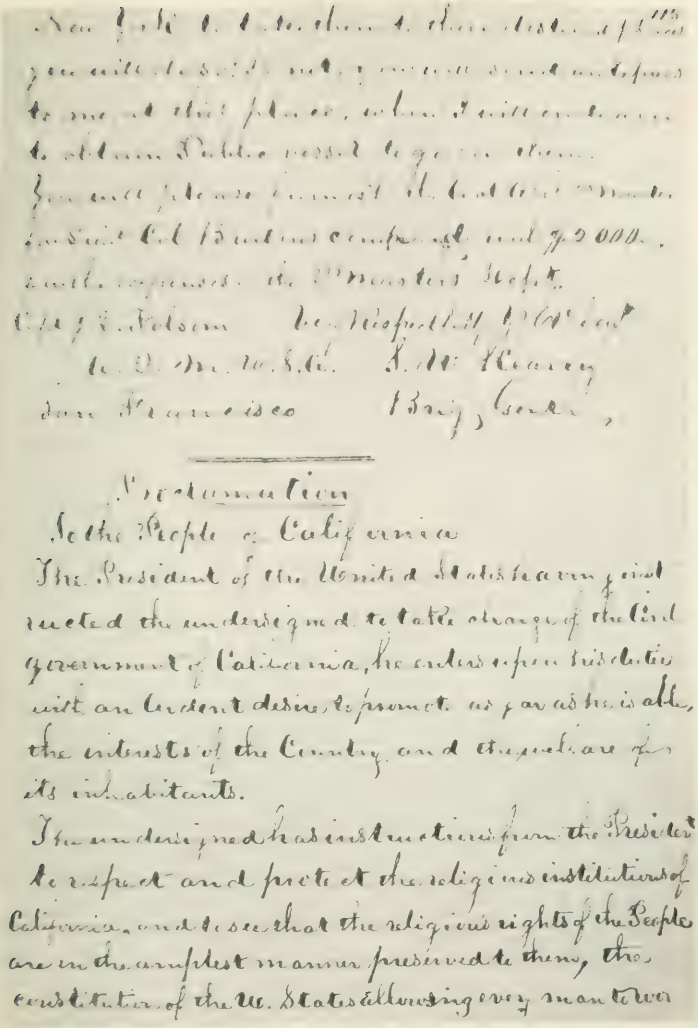
At the same time, the general issued a separate proclamation, laying special stress on the president's desire to protect the people in their religious rights. He promised a free government at the earliest possible date, and in the meantime such of the existing laws as did not conflict with the Constitution of the United States were to remain in effect, and the local officers then serving were to be continued. Frémont was ordered to report at the capital, and was informed that after complying with this order and others previously issued, he would be allowed to depart the country and the service. Lieutenant-colonel Cooke was placed in command of the California volunteers, Frémont's battalion, the Mormon battalion, and Company C, First Dragoons, with orders to establish headquarters in the south and to prevent the ingress of Mexican troops. Los Angeles was selected as the central post.

In his reports to the war department, Kearny lays upon Commodore Stockton the blame for the lack of harmony in California. The case, with regard to Frémont, is not so clear. He had, as he wrote the general, received his appointment from Stockton, who was still recognized as commander at the time of Frémont's junction with the other forces in January. Until the general and the commodore were able to adjust the question of authority between themselves, he would be obliged to receive orders from the

latter. Kearny tried in a friendly conference to induce Frémont to change his mind, but failed. Stockton had already appointed him governor, and Kearny promised, it is said, to give him that office within a few weeks, as he himself intended to leave for the United States in the spring. But Frémont remained obdurate and, therefore, forfeited the friendly consideration which Kearny originally had for him. He finally yielded obedience to the general's authority, but was unable or unwilling to conciliate his feelings. When Kearny departed overland for the East in May, he ordered Frémont to follow, and at Fort Leavenworth placed him under arrest. Frémont was subsequently tried by courtmartial on the charge of mutiny, was found guilty, and sentenced to dismissal from the army. President Polk remitted the sentence, but Frémont immediately resigned and returned, with a private exploring party, to California in 1848.

The departure of General Kearny left Colonel R. B. Mason in control of the government of California. The new governor executed the system already initiated. It involved the temporary administration, in the American spirit, of the bulk of the Mexican law, the removal of burdensome restrictions upon commerce, and the gradual introduction of American legal principles. Mason remained in the office of military governor until after the treaty with Mexico which definitely transferred California to the United States. His chief problem was to maintain order in the South where the habit of revolution was strong. It was his opinion that the Southern people disliked "the change of flags and . . . would rise immediately if it were possible for Mexico to send even a small force into the country; nothing keeps them quiet but the want of a proper leader and a rallying point." Though a considerable force was always maintained in this section, many incidents occurred showing a revolutionary tendency. General Castro returned to California, causing some alarm; but the time for revolts had passed, and Castro promised to avoid all political activity.

The treaty which formally ended the Mexican War was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo on the 2d of February; ratifications were exchanged May 30th; and on the 4th of July, 1848, it was proclaimed by the American government. Article V, of this document, gave to the United States both New Mexico and California. It fixed the southern boundary of California as extending from the Colorado at the mouth of the Gila, "along the division line between Upper and Lower California," to the Pacific Ocean. This boundary was defined as a straight line, starting at the middle of Gila River, and striking the Pacific at a point one marine league south of the southernmost point of San Diego Bay. The eastern boundary was coincident with the western boundary of New Mexico as fixed in Disturnell's map of the United Mexican States, published at New York in 1847. As affecting California, the provisions of Articles VI, VII, VIII, and IX were important. The sixth provided for the free passage by the Gulf of California and River Colorado, of vessels belonging to the United States; the seventh was a concession for a railroad along the south bank of the Gila; the eighth and ninth protected the rights of Mexican citizens within the ceded territories. All property, both of resident and non-resident Mexicans, was to be respected; individuals might choose their citizenship within one year, and if electing to retain their connection with the Mexican republic, were permitted to remove their property without any tax or charge. Article IX provided: "The Mexicans who . . . shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic . . . shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction."



Proclamation
To the People of California
The President of the United States has commissioned the undersigned to take charge of the Civil government of California, he enters upon this duty with an ardent desire to promote as far as he is able, the interests of the Country and the welfare of its inhabitants.
The undersigned has instructions from the President to respect and protect the religious institutions of California, and to see that the religious rights of the People are in the amplest manner preserved to them, the constitution of the U. States allowing every man to wor

Draft of proclamation to the people of California in S. W. Kearney's journal of the Santa Fé and California expedition. *From the original in possession of the Missouri Historical Society.*

any further allegiance to the Republic of Mexico, and will
consider them as citizens of the U. States: those who remain
quiet and peaceable will be respected in their rights and
protected in them: should any take up arms against or
oppose the government of this Territory, or instigate others to
do so, they will be considered as enemies and treated accordingly. When Mexico found no way open for the U. States,
but did not permit the latter to invite the Californians
as friends to join her standard, but compelled her to take
possession of the Country, to prevent any European
Power from seizing upon it, and in doing so, Sundry excesses
have been committed, & acts of wanton cruelty committed
by persons employed in the service of the U. States by which
a few of the inhabitants have met with a loss of property; such losses will be duly investigated, and those
entitled to remuneration will receive it. California
has for many years suffered great from domestic
troubles; civil wars have been the poisoned fount
ains, which have sent forth troubles & pestilence over
her beautiful land. Now those fountains are dried
up: the Star Spangled Banner floats over California;
and as long as the sun Continues to shine upon her, so
long will it float there; over the natives of the land,
as well as others who have found a home in her

118 bosom and our devise. agriculture must improve, arts
the Arts and sciences flourish as seed in a rich and
fertile soil. The Americans and Californians are now
but one People: let us cherish one wish, one hope, and
let it be for the peace and quiet of our Country.
Let us as a Band of Brothers unite and emulate each
other in our exertions to benefit and improve this our be-
tiful and extensive Country and we must be one happy and
prosperous home. Given at Monterey, Capital
of California, this first day of March A.D. 1847 and
in the 71st year of Independence of the U. States

R. B. Mason, Brig. Genl.
Governor of California.

Monterey, March 2nd 1847

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith for your information a copy of my proclamation of this date, announcing to the people of California my appointment as Governor of the same, and stating my views and intentions in relation to the duties of the office, and the course of policy which I shall pursue in the administration of the civil affairs of the country. I have now to request that

The news of the ratification of the treaty was received in California on the 6th of August. Governor Mason made the fact known on the 7th by a proclamation concluding with these words: "Americans and Californians will now be one and the same people, subject to the same laws, enjoying the same rights and privileges; they should therefore become a band of brothers, emulating each other in their exertions to develop the wealth and resources, and to secure the peace, happiness, and permanent prosperity, of their common country."

During the years of struggle just reviewed, the country and its population had undergone rapid changes. In 1846, it was reported that a large body of Mormons was coming to the territory; Hastings was laying out a new town at Sutter's place; and the Missourians were predicting the arrival of thousands by the trails from Oregon and Fort Hall. These reports were based upon facts. The Mormon people, driven out of their Illinois settlements, were moving westward up the Platte, some with teams of oxen or horses, others drawing carts by hand, still others marching on foot carrying packs. They were bound for the Far West where, in some spot supposed to be unattractive to ordinary American settlers, they proposed to establish a Mormon State. Many hoped that California would be the chosen spot, and during the summer of 1845 there was much agitation having for its object the occupation of that region by many thousands of these people. Though the plan miscarried, several influential Mormons in the East, notably Elder Samuel Brannan, raised a company of about two hundred and forty, who prepared to make the voyage round Cape Horn under Brannan's supervision. The party left New York in February, 1846, in the ship *Brooklyn*, arrived at Honolulu toward the end of June, and on the 31st of July reached the Bay of San Francisco. Here they remained until it was definitely learned that the fathers of their church had decided on Salt Lake as the New Zion, and then many departed overland for the interior.

Shortly after the departure of this company the Mexican War broke out, and America had no need to try to secure California by fostering emigration. But it needed soldiers in that territory, and it was proposed that the government should employ a body of Mormons as volunteers on condition of taking them to California and discharging them there at the close of one year of service. This plan would enable many destitute men to reach California, and at the same time increase the military forces of the United States on the Pacific. The plan resulted in the "Mormon Battalion" which was raised by Lieutenant James Allen, formerly captain in the First Dragoons, under the direction of General Kearny. The men were mustered in at Council Bluffs, Iowa, on the 16th of July, 1846, and began the march to Santa Fé about the middle of August, arriving there before the middle of October. About one hundred and fifty out of the five hundred recruits fell out at and near Santa Fé. Allen having died, the remainder passed on toward California under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Cooke, who was ordered to open a wagon route to the Pacific. The march was an exceedingly tedious one, much more so than the previous ones, because the battalion was accompanied by a wagon train, with a number of women and children. But the party reached California in safety, arriving at San Diego on the 29th of January, 1847, after the fighting was all over. The men had enlisted for a term of twelve months, of which more than six had already expired. The battalion was employed, as we have seen, to help to garrison the South during the spring and early summer of 1847, and finally was mustered out at Los Angeles, July 16th. Some of the men were reënlisted for six months' more garrison service, and the rest, about one-half of the original five hundred, started on the march east, intending to go to Salt Lake where they supposed the Mormon colony had been established. But meeting men of their faith who were on the way to California, many were induced to return and spend the winter near Sutter's Fort, doing such work as

could be procured. The reënlisted Mormons were sent for garrison duty to San Diego, where they were mustered out in March, 1848, many remaining in California.

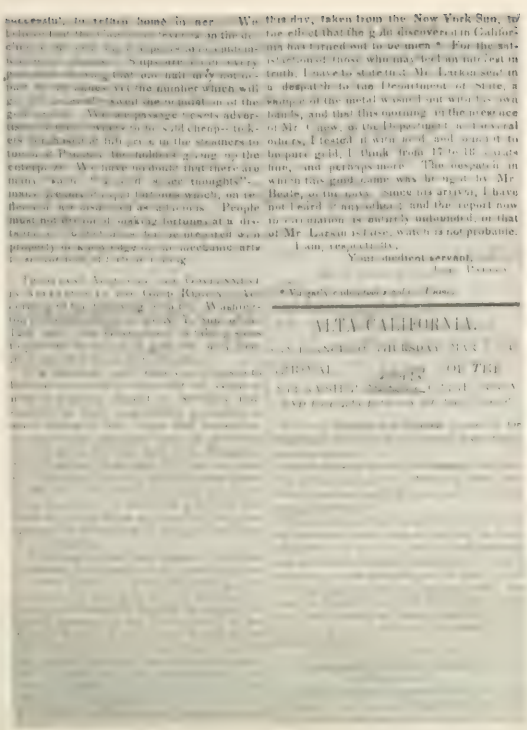
Besides the Mormon battalion and the troops brought in by Kearny, the war brought to San Francisco a New York regiment under Colonel Stevenson. The men were of a high average of intelligence: they were mechanics, tradesmen, and young adventurers from the Eastern cities. Many of them had enlisted in the hope of securing grants of California land, while others no doubt were influenced by a mere desire to visit the Pacific coast. They left New York in three ships on September 26, 1846, and, rounding Cape Horn, arrived at San Francisco in March, 1847. Like the Mormons, they found only garrison duty before them, and were assigned to the various posts in California until the end of the war. Immediately after the treaty with Mexico became known, August, 1848, they were mustered out to the number of six hundred and ninety-seven, and distributed themselves among the new settlements beginning to be formed by the Americans.

In addition to the several companies mentioned above, most of whose members remained to become settlers in the country, the years 1846 and 1847 brought appreciable numbers of emigrants overland. During the first of these years about two thousand persons took the trails to the Pacific, by far the larger number going to Oregon. But five or six hundred, in several parties, turned off from Fort Hall to go to California. One of these trains was the ill-fated "Donner party," concerning which so much has been written. This company, consisting of eighty-seven persons under the leadership of George Donner, separated from one of the large Oregon trains near Fort Bridger on July 2d. Following the recommendations of Hastings, who was at the gates of the Rockies for the purpose of drumming up parties for California, they took a new route around Salt Lake and met with serious obstacles; so that September had arrived before the train left Salt Lake. Nevertheless, they struck out

across the desert, reaching the main trail on the Humboldt late in the month. Many of their cattle had already perished, and the remainder, gaunt and worn by hard driving and scant food, were in no state to carry the party across the Sierras, covered as they already were with drifting snows. After spending the month of November in a desperate but fruitless attempt to cross the mountains, the survivors of the party established camps near Truckee Lake. Deaths had occurred at various points along the route, and in the biting cold of the Sierra winter the mortality rapidly increased. About the middle of December fifteen of the stronger men undertook to cross on snowshoes for the purpose of securing aid. Having rations for only six days, they were soon without food; and when the valley was reached, about the middle of January, only seven of the party remained alive. Some slight relief had been carried back to the main party by those who had succeeded in crossing before the snow became too deep. While the party was known to be belated, the general impression on the Sacramento was that they might survive by killing the animals, and accordingly no general effort had been made to succor them. When, however, seven starving men appeared, with their ghastly tale of destitution, Sutter and other settlers immediately fitted out a relief party, which succeeded in bringing in eighteen of the sufferers early in March.

Meantime, the story was repeated down the valley and about San Francisco Bay, arousing intense interest among all classes of men. Public meetings were held, subscriptions raised, and other parties hurried forward into the mountains with such supplies as they could carry. By these means the total of the survivors was raised to forty-eight lives. There were ghastly incidents of cruelty, of murder and cannibalism, but perhaps this tragedy had its uses, both in the universal feeling of charity engendered among the California people, and in the precautions which rendered impossible the recurrence of such a dire calamity.





Daily Alta California.

D. O. Kemble & J. E. Dorrance, Editors.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCT. 19, 1850.

THE WEEKLY ALTA.—The *Weekly Alta California* can be had at the desk this morning, in wrappers ready to forward by the Columbus, which sails this afternoon

First Effects of the News.

We have never seen so general and joyous an excitement, nor any thing comparable with it, as that which has resulted in this city from the news received here yesterday. It had been half anticipated, yet so many disappointments and delays had been our late, that every thing has been perfectly quiet up to the time when the first gun from the Oregon gave notice of her approach. Then the excitement commenced and increased, and up to this present writing has not diminished. It at once took down everybody. The beautiful steamer came gallantly into the harbor, finely decorated, and telling the importance of the news she brought by continued cannonading.

At once the American flag went up from every possible place in the city. One gallant fellow worked his way up the slippery flagstaff on the Square, and rove the pennant halyards amid the cheers of the crowd. Then the Stars and Stripes went floating aloft, and every hat swung around, and every voice was brought into requisition, to welcome the first pulse that ever throbbed there in honor of the Thirty-First State of the Union. "Three times three" were given in token of pride and pleasure; as many more for Hetherington, for having "assisted in putting it through," the same for Mr. Beadon for the same reason and seven cheers for others. Then the people contributed between two and three hundred dollars for the benefit of the fine fellow who "shinned" up the flagstaff. Some two spondulic pieces of old artillery were on the ground in the afternoon, and a grand salute—we do not know how many guns—fired in honor of the great occasion. These cannon were loaded to the muzzle, and the discharge of

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMER OREGON!

TWO WEEKS LATER:

GOOD NEWS FROM WASHINGTON!

ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA!

Passage of the Utah and New Mexico Bills!

Death of Louis Philippe.—Execution of Professor Webster.—Texas Land and Art Decisions &c.

From our Extra of Yesterday.

The mail steamer Oregon, Lt. Patterson commander, announced her appearance in port this morning by a heavy cannonading. Her passage from Panama is an unusually short one, having been made in seventeen days. The appearance of the ship as she rounded to and fro decorated from stem to stern, and from taffrail to the main truck, presented a gay and festive appearance.

She brings a large mail and one hundred and sixty nine passengers. Her dates from the United States are to the 13th ult.

We beg to return our sincere thanks to Capt. Patterson, for his efforts to get our papers on board. They were thrown in the water, but by the kindness of H. Miller & Co.'s Express, were saved and brought without delay to our office. Doctor Hitchcock and Purser Macy, and a number of friends on board, will accept our grateful acknowledgments for like favors.

The Oregon proceeded to Sausalito previous to anchoring and saluted the squadron of the admiral of California.

Report of the Steamer Oregon.—At Panama 67 vessels. English Steamer left for the South Sept. 2nd, ten days out sailing having been changed from the 15th to the 2nd.

Oregon arrived at Panama Sept 19th, [illegible] to appear at 3 p.m. Northerner arrived at [illegible] and stopped at Acapulco.

[illegible] Sept. 2nd, supposed [illegible] Sept. 1st. Panama [illegible] Wednesday [illegible] to have left [illegible] Report [illegible] Panama Aspinwall. M[illegible] Wednesday [illegible] General [illegible] passenger steamer [illegible] Aspinwall [illegible] Panama [illegible] Aspinwall [illegible] with [illegible]

Pages of the *Alta California* announcing the arrival of the first steamship in 1849, and of the admission of California as a State in 1850. *From originals in the State Library, Sacramento.*

The year 1847, while bringing in a large number of soldiers,—the Mormon battalion, the New York regiment, and Kearny's troops,—brought less numerous additions by the overland route. California, as the scene of warfare, was not an attractive place just at this time, while the stories of the Donner disaster, reaching the ears of emigrants on the march, helped to turn the great majority toward Oregon. Several hundred, nevertheless, came on to California.

At the beginning of the year 1848, California was fully occupied by American troops, all under the command of Colonel Mason, the military governor. The country was peaceful, and the removal of commercial restrictions, and the security afforded property owners, was beginning to have its effect upon business. The presence in several of the towns of troops requiring large quantities of supplies was also a factor in the awakening commercial development. Improvements were being made at a rate altogether unprecedented, especially at San Francisco, which at the time of raising the American flag, July, 1846, had been an insignificant place even in California. Before May, 1848, it was a village of nine hundred people, with more than forty business houses, and considerable shipping. Its commission merchants were patronized by traders in Oregon and at Honolulu. It had two newspapers, the *Californian*, begun at Monterey in August, 1846, by two Americans, Walter Colton and Robert Semple; and the *California Star*, edited by Samuel Brannan, the Mormon elder who brought out the New York colony on the *Brooklyn*. A public school was about to be opened, but there were no religious services except those held by the Mormons.

The neighboring places, Santa Clara, San José, and Sonoma were growing somewhat, while new settlements were being made at other favorable spots, such as Napa and Benecia. Some of the incoming settlers had secured land in the Sacramento valley from Sutter and others holding large Mexican grants, and in the vicinity of the fort was a population of about three hundred whites.

The other towns had increased less rapidly than San Francisco, though everywhere could be seen the influence of American occupation. The total white population in the early months of 1848 is estimated at fourteen thousand, of which nearly one-half was foreign, mainly Americans. Three or four thousand semi-civilized Indians, the remains of the earlier mission populations, lived in and about the towns. The Mormons were a vanishing element, because the decision of the church fathers to plant the New Zion on Salt Lake was drawing the California emigrants toward the interior. The prospects for a rapid increase in population from the United States were good, according to the conceptions of the time, when an addition of two or three thousand per year was regarded as a satisfactory growth. To all appearances Oregon and California were destined gradually to acquire the population necessary to develop their great natural resources and render them valuable Territories of the United States; but as to when either, or the two combined, should be entitled to statehood, was a question hardly yet considered.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GOLDEN STATE

We have already seen that Congress, in the early months of 1848, when legislating in favor of Oregon, refused to create a Territorial government for California, and that in the course of the discussion the California population was declared to be "half Indian." The incident shows the relative position occupied by Oregon and California in the public mind at this time. The northern territory was well known, it had been in the nation's eye for more than a quarter of a century, it was the first American territory on the Pacific and was occupied almost exclusively by Americans. These colonists had established a government; they had contributed powerfully to the settlement of the dispute with Great Britain; and latterly they had carried on a successful war against the Indians. The Americans in California had but ill defined claims upon the generosity of the government to offset these solid arguments of their neighbors; while the fact that so large a proportion of the people were natives or Mexicans excited prejudice against the country itself.

But California's opportunity was at hand, for gold was to be found within its borders. The story of the gold discovery is closely associated with the activities of Captain Sutter at New Helvetia. Sutter's fortunes had been profoundly affected by the events of 1846–1848, for Sutter's Fort was not only the rendezvous of incoming settlers from

the United States, but also the virtual base of the military operations which wrested California from Mexico. It was, also, one of the posts maintained after the conquest, having a garrison of American troops, whose presence influenced the social life of the place and created a market for supplies of the products of the country. The change of flags in California had impressed the captain profoundly. He expected that the new régime would benefit the country and himself. His agricultural and stock-raising interests developed rapidly during the years of strife, and there was a prospect for a town of considerable size on the Sacramento just below the fort, where a few houses had already been erected before the close of the year 1847. Improvements had been made upon the fort buildings, and some six miles above on American River a grist mill was already in successful operation. Sutter had determined that a saw mill was a prime necessity, and he had entered into partnership with James W. Marshall, an emigrant from Oregon, to erect such an establishment at some point on the stream above the fort and conveniently near to good timber, and to get out lumber for his growing colony.

The spot chosen was about fifty miles from New Helvetia, in a little valley of American River named because of its attractiveness "Coloma" [beautiful vale]. Marshall, with a band of Mormon workmen began there the building of the mill and the framework was completed by January, 1848. The creek at the point chosen made a north curve like a bow, and a straight dry channel formed the string. The mill had been erected over this natural trench, and a brush dam placed across the river at the bend just above the beginning of the channel, in order, by raising the level of the water, to cause a part of it to flow over the old bed and thus create an effective millrace with a slight expenditure of labor. During the day the workmen labored in the ditch, loosening the rock and hard earth, and at night the sluice was opened to allow the water to wash away the loosened material.

On the 24th of January,—the date is fixed by a diary kept by Henry W. Bigler, one of the Mormon workmen,—while Marshall was inspecting the race near its lower end, some yellow particles in the gravel caught his attention. Speculating upon the probability of its being gold, he washed out a small portion from the loose earth, and the next day, after another night's sluicing, he gathered still more. He tested it as well as he could by weighing it in his hand and pounding it with stones, and became convinced that he had discovered gold. He told his fellow workmen and they helped him to gather several ounces, without, however, crediting Marshall's theory respecting the nature of the metal. When a sufficient quantity had been procured, Marshall rode to the fort and he and Sutter applied accurate tests. These confirmed his surmise. The following day Marshall and Sutter prospected not only the race, but the river below and above, and found gold everywhere. Immediately, a lease of the district was secured from the Coloma Indians, the gold region not being within the limits of Sutter's grant. Sutter endeavored to keep his men at work on the saw mill and they promised to continue their labor for six weeks at least; but in the meantime their leisure was spent in looking for gold. This was found at many places in the neighborhood, and at this time two Mormon boys discovered the diggings of Mormon Island, twenty miles above the fort.

Precautions were taken to keep the discovery secret, but the news found its way down to the bay, and south to Monterey, everywhere creating more or less interest, though it required some time to convince the people of the richness of the find. The newspapers mentioned the matter rather cautiously at first, the earliest notice appearing in the *Californian* of March 15th. In April, a few men went to the mines; but about the middle of May, Samuel Brannan, the Mormon elder, returned to San Francisco with a bottle of gold dust, and the excitement at last became intense. Business of every kind was abandoned; stores, wharves, even the printing offices, were deserted; all sorts of craft

were used in ascending the river, trains of wagons and pack horses bore gold hunters with their provisions and tools to the mines. "The whole country," exclaims the *California Star* of June 14, 1848, "from San Francisco to Los Angeles, and from the seashore to the base of the Sierra Nevada, resounds to the sordid cry of *gold!* GOLD!! GOLD!!! while the field is left half planted, the house half built, and everything neglected but the manufacture of shovels and pickaxes and the means of transportation." Town officials, pastors of churches, public functionaries of all kinds, left their posts, where, indeed, they had little need to remain, for but few of their constituents were left. Sailors deserted from incoming ships, their officers sometimes following; prisoners broke jail and fled to the mines, giving the needed excuse to their jailors to go there in pursuit; soldiers broke the discipline of the camp for the same purpose. The California coast sent virtually all its able-bodied men and boys to the interior.

It will be remembered that at this time the Oregon community had just concluded the war against the Cayuses, into which the country had been plunged as a result of the Whitman massacre. The people were about to settle down to the ordinary labor of the farm and shop when, in August, 1848, came the news of the gold discovery. At once all was excitement. Many, both on the Willamette and on Puget Sound, began immediate preparations for a journey to California, and within a few days pack trains were on their way southward. Others prepared to go to the mines in the spring. In September a wagon train of fifty loaded wagons and one hundred and fifty men left the Willamette under the lead of Peter H. Burnett. They followed the southern emigrant trail to Klamath Lake, and thence crossed the Sierras by a new route partially opened just in advance of them by a party of immigrants under the guidance of Peter Lassen. This advance company had encountered difficulties too great for their strength, but the Oregon men assisted in opening the way, and they all reached the

Sacramento about the 1st of November. Thenceforward, the road from Oregon was always kept open, hundreds passing back and forth over it at all times.

The Oregonians were the first outside of California to reach the mines, they immediately took a prominent position in the new society, and many of them became leaders. The captain of their first wagon train, Burnett, became the first governor of the State of California, and others of the party helped to frame the constitution and make laws for the new commonwealth.

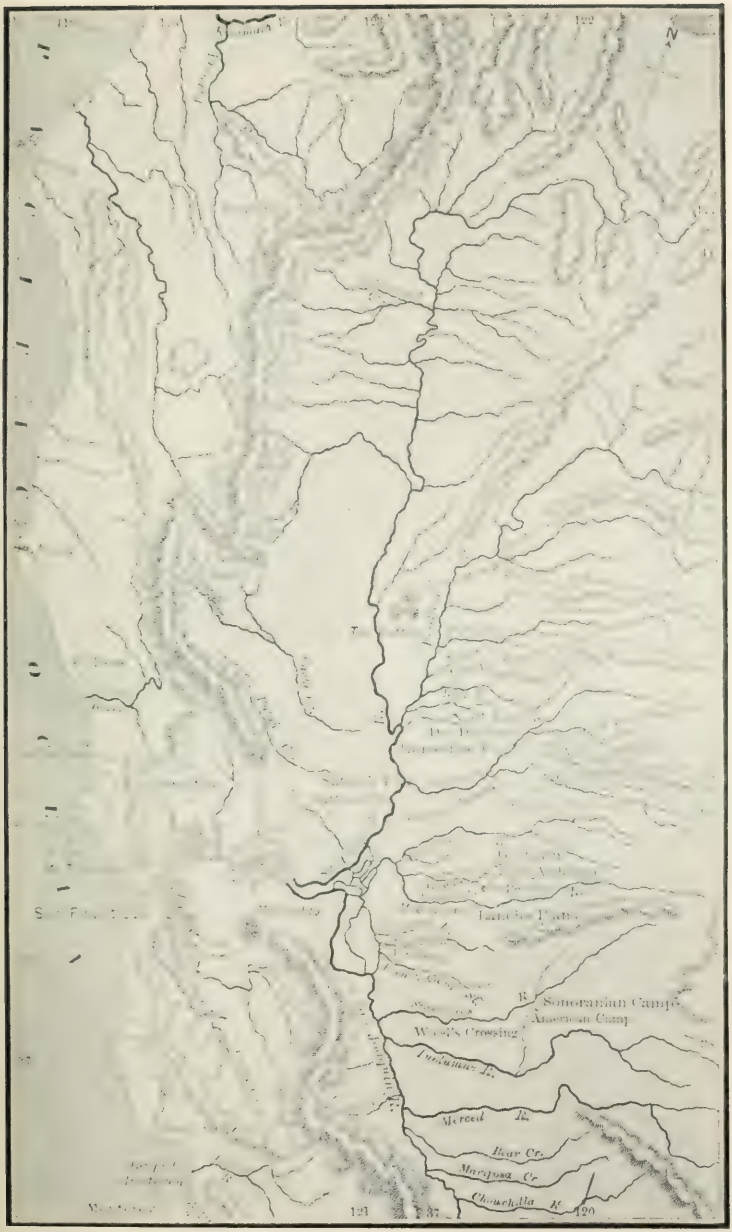
Before the close of the year 1848, the Sierras had been prospected in every direction. There were camps on American River first; but it was soon found that this was only one of a number of streams bringing down the gold-bearing sands from the mountains. Parties and individuals constantly sought new fields, which were found on the Tuolumne, the Mokelumne, the Cosumnes in the south; and on Feather River, with its numerous branches, farther north. Mr. Reading opened a profitable mine on Trinity River, a branch of the Klamath, and thus during the first season the field of operations was extended so that there were locations for many thousands of placer miners.

In the spring of 1848 a company of Mormons, composed in part of the men who did the first mining about Sutter's saw mill, started inland to the colony at Salt Lake. These men carried the news of the discovery of gold to the Rockies, whence it was borne to the settled parts of the United States. Special reports were made to the government by Larkin and by Governor Mason, and the latter sent specimens of the gold secured from the mines. In the month of September, Eastern newspapers began printing rumors and reports which at first seemed to the people wholly incredible; but more complete reports came in every week, and early in December President Polk assured them, through his annual message, that current information was fully confirmed by official advices from California. The gold craze rose at one bound to a pitch of intensity never equalled

before or since. All classes caught the infection. Men of wealth received visions of great fortunes, and poor men anticipated the speedy accumulation of a competence for themselves and their families, if only they could reach the land of gold. Merchants, mechanics, farmers, professional men, and adventurous non-producers along the Eastern seaboard, to the number of many thousands, prepared for the transcontinental journey.

Three boats, the *California*, *Oregon*, and *Panama*, had been built to serve on the Pacific between Panama and Columbia River, the steamship company growing out of the acquisition of Oregon, and having been first suggested to the government by J. M. Shively, postmaster at Astoria. The *California* left New York on October 6, 1848, to pass around Cape Horn. The gold rush had not yet begun, and she carried no passengers. But on reaching Callao at the end of December, she found the greatest excitement, and many persons who sought passage to San Francisco. She carried a limited number only, which was well, for on arriving at Panama, January 30, 1849, fifteen hundred persons were found waiting to secure passage northward.

These had reached the isthmus on all manner of craft. Old and almost worthless hulks had been repaired and rendered seaworthy for this special purpose; other vessels had extended their usual courses southward. Regular business was almost at a standstill, everything being subordinated to the imperative demand for outfits and transportation for the mines. On reaching the isthmus, at Chagres, the emigrants travelled inland by means of Chagres River, depending on the half-savage natives with their dugouts or rude boats for this portion of the voyage. The native boatmen were unprepared for the crowds which suddenly swooped down upon them, delays and vexations occurred without number, and cholera broke out among the travellers, inflicting terrible ravages, especially where the crowds collected at the portage near the head of Chagres River. Those who reached Panama camped down to await the coming of vessels to carry them



The gold regions in 1848. *From a print in the Library of Congress.*

PUBLIC LIBRARY

to California, many having purchased through tickets from swindling ship agents, who pretended to be able to secure passage for applicants on one of the Pacific mail steamers. When the *California* arrived, some had been waiting for six weeks; and although the steamer could properly accommodate only about one hundred and fifty, four hundred were stowed away in her. Steerage tickets were sold for one thousand dollars. After a month, on January 28, 1849, the vessel arrived at San Francisco, and was received with salutes from the Pacific Squadron, cheers from the miners wintering in the city, and the music of bands, welcoming the first body of gold seekers from the Eastern coast.

The miserable, disappointed, but constantly augmenting crowds left at Panama encountered varying fortunes. Some were able to hold out until the arrival of the *Oregon* from New York in March, or the *Panama* which came up the coast in May. Others took passage on ships which happened at the port and were induced by the prospect of extraordinary profits to make the voyage to San Francisco; some sickened and died in the tropic country; and many, unable to pay for transportation up the Pacific Coast, returned to the States.

It has been estimated that the total number of arrivals by sea during the year 1849 was thirty-nine thousand, the great majority of whom were Americans; although the Hawaiian Islands, China, South America, Mexico, Canada, and almost every country of Europe, sent contributions. Bancroft estimates thus: "From New York, Boston, Salem, Norfolk, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, between the 14th of December 1848, and the 18th of January, 1849, departed sixty-one sailing vessels, averaging fifty passengers each, to say nothing of those sent from Charleston, New Orleans, and other ports. Sixty ships were announced to sail from New York in the month of February, 1849, seventy from Philadelphia and Boston, and eleven from New Bedford. The hegira continued throughout the year, and during the winter of 1849 and the spring of 1850, two hundred and

fifty vessels sailed for California from the eastern ports of the United States alone, forty-five of which arrived at San Francisco in one day."

Along the frontier of the United States, where the fall of 1848 found several thousand persons preparing to migrate to Oregon or California, the news of the gold discovery produced an excitement no less intense than on the seaboard. There was no chance of reaching California before spring; but the winter was employed in preparation, and when the month of April arrived recruits from all the western as well as all the eastern States rallied to the various places of rendezvous along the Missouri frontier. In many ways these had the advantage over the seafarers, for they could take an abundance of supplies, animals for work, seed, and implements for agriculture, which would at once place them upon a permanent footing in their new homes. Some of the men took their families, which was only rarely done by the maritime gold-seekers during the first year or two, the vast majority intending to make their fortunes and return. The methods of organization followed by the overland parties are familiar to the reader from the account of the Oregon emigration of 1843. As soon as the grass had started on the plains, the companies set out for the West, and until late in the summer the trains of white-sheeted wagons streamed forth along the Platte in an almost continuous caravan. "A . . . traveller could have journeyed for 1,000 miles," says Bayard Taylor, "as certain of his lodging and regular meals as if he were riding through the old agricultural districts of the Middle States."

But, although they were travelling under better conditions than many of those who went by sea, the overland parties did not escape the most terrible hardships. It is claimed by one party that when only a few miles out from Independence they saw, painted upon the clouds above them, the ominous sign of a procession of men bearing the coffin. Later, this mirage was interpreted as foreshadowing the terrible scourge of cholera, which overtook the

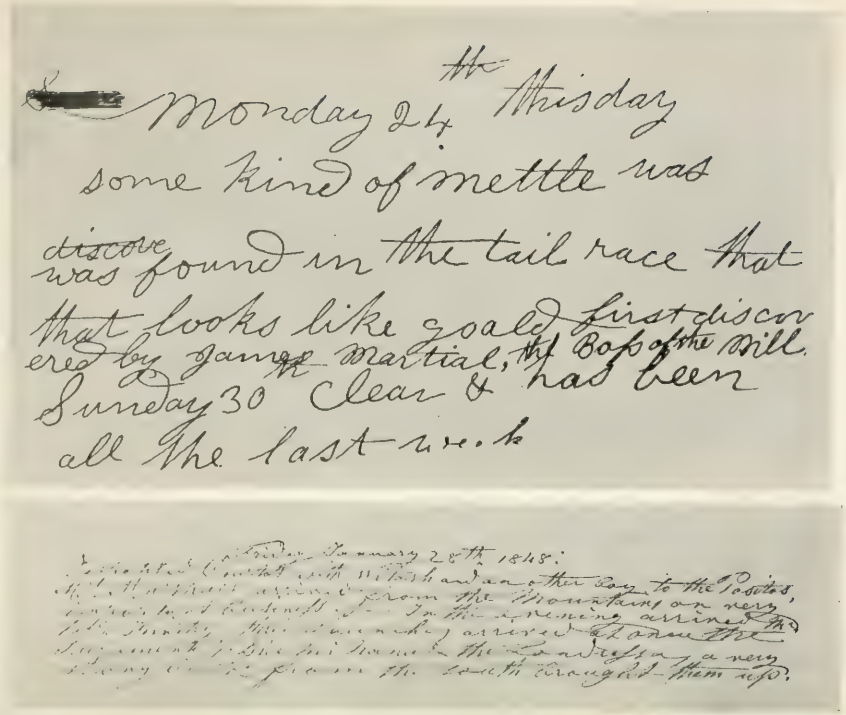
companies on the Missouri and remained with them until they reached the mountains. It has been estimated that five thousand deaths occurred upon the route. Many of the graves can still be found, marked as they are by headstones of native rock or, more commonly, by a wagon tire, cut and arched over the spot, with sometimes an inscription painted upon it. The latter part of the journey, though free from the epidemic, was rendered almost equally distressing by the necessity of crossing the bare and parched alkali plains, where cattle starved, or perished from thirst, and by the dangers encountered in traversing the Sierras after the snows began to fall. From the month of July until winter, parties arrived constantly at the Sacramento, many of the later companies being brought in, half famished, by relief parties sent out for them. The total number of persons arriving by this route in 1849 has been estimated at twenty-five thousand, while about eight thousand more came by way of Santa Fé. Many left at the close of the first season, but the United States census takers found over ninety-two thousand people in California in the summer of 1850, the vast majority of whom had entered the territory during the preceding fifteen months.

This tremendous influx of population emphasized strongly the need of a more suitable government than that which the military commander was striving, vainly for the most part, to administer. The arrangements made at the time of the conquest were never intended to be permanent, the expectation being that Congress would create a Territorial government for California. The president urged this in a special message of July 6, 1848, two days after the treaty with Mexico had been proclaimed; but owing in part to the slavery discussion growing out of the Wilmot Proviso, no action was taken.

In his annual message of December 5, 1848, President Polk again urged the need of a Territorial government for the country. In the message, after discussing the commercial interests of the United States in the region, the inadequacy

of the military government in effect there, and reiterating the recommendations of his former message, the president said: "It is our solemn duty to provide with the least practicable delay for New Mexico and California regularly organized Territorial governments. The causes of the failure to do this at the last session are well known and deeply to be regretted. With the opening prospects of increased prosperity and national greatness which the acquisition of these rich and extensive territories affords, how irrational it would be to forego or to reject these advantages by the agitation of a domestic question which is coeval with the existence of our government itself, and to endanger by internal strifes, geographical divisions, and heated contests for political power, or for any other cause, the harmony of the glorious Union of our confederated States—that Union which binds us together as one people, and which for sixty years has been our shield and protection against every danger." He called attention once more to the immense value of these territories, showed that they were won by the patriotic devotion of both sections of the Union, and that therefore it "would not be just for any one section to exclude another from all participation" in them. The president expressed a doubt whether this discussion of slavery in the newly acquired territories was not more theoretical than practical; for, as he says: "From the nature of the climate and productions in much the larger portion of it, it is certain it [slavery] could never exist, and in the remainder, the probabilities are it would not." He considered that there was a question of rights involved which should not be disregarded, and he therefore made three recommendations. The first was to let the people of these Territories themselves, when they should proceed to frame constitutions for their prospective States, determine whether or not they would have slavery within their borders. This would be the safest, most just and effective method of settling the question. On becoming States they would have the right to do as they chose in the matter, whatever the status of slavery in the Territories;




Monday 24th this day
some kind of mettle was
discove found in the tail race that
that looks like goald first discov
ered by James Martial, by Bob's the Mill.
Sunday 30 Clear & has been
all the last week

Part of a page, dated January 24, 1848, from the journal of Henry W. Bigler noting the discovery of gold, and one dated January 28, 1848, from Sutter's journal relative to Satter's discovery. *From the originals in the Hall of California Pioneers,*

the wise course, therefore, would be to allow them to settle the question at the time of creating the States, which, from the rush of population to the Pacific, he thought would not be long postponed. The second was to let the Missouri Compromise line be extended to the Pacific. This was the principle, as the reader will recall, to which the president had committed himself when signing the Oregon bill in the preceding August. He believed that the great majority of the people would acquiesce in such a settlement. To prohibit slavery—as the Wilmot Proviso had proposed to do—from the territory lying to the south as well as to the north of this line would be to adopt a new principle not in the nature of a compromise. The third suggestion was that Congress might leave the legal and constitutional questions arising in connection with slavery in these Territories to the Supreme Court.

None of Polk's plans for settling the California question was wholly satisfactory to the South, although in general the extension of the Missouri Compromise line, as modified by the Texas compromise, was favorably regarded by many Southern men. The Northerners, on the other hand, were very generally prepared either to insist on the Proviso or else to accept the president's first suggestion to allow the Californians to settle the slavery question for themselves, as the Oregonians had already done. The third alternative hardly received serious consideration in any quarter.

Since so much was likely to depend upon the attitude of the California people themselves, it is important to trace with some detail the history of political events in the Territory. Opposition to the military government grew rapidly after the beginning of the gold rush. Even as early as February, 1847, more than a year before this movement began, one of the San Francisco newspapers urged the people to call a convention for the purpose of adopting a constitution. This was of course premature, but the next year brought the Mexican treaty, a considerable increase in population, and a clear demonstration of the need of better

government, and the Americans in the territory, as soon as the treaty was announced, August, 1848, began to talk seriously of adopting a provisional constitution on the lines followed by the Oregonians.

Governor Mason had done as much as was possible under the limited powers which cramped his every effort. He had hoped that Congress before its adjournment in the summer of 1848, would provide a Territorial government; and on learning that no action had been taken, he decided to encourage the movement for a provisional government, which, after the arrival of the Oregon parties of 1848, was growing rapidly. In December, 1848, and January, 1849, public meetings were held at several places, San Francisco, San José, and Sacramento, to discuss the matter, and resolutions were everywhere adopted favoring a convention to organize a temporary government. Peter H. Burnett was a recognized leader in these meetings, and other Oregon men participated. The time of holding the convention was the one point difficult to determine. It was once fixed for March, then for May, and finally for August, the hope being that Congress would meantime provide a Territorial organization.

Mason was superseded in February, 1849, by General Persifor F. Smith, and he, in turn, a month and a half later, by General Bennett Riley. A new policy was inaugurated respecting California. Riley proposed, first of all, to create as efficient a temporary government as possible under the authority he possessed as "civil administrator" of the country; and, secondly, to urge the people to adopt a regular State constitution which was to be submitted to Congress for approval. In other words, instead of creating a provisional government, to be maintained until Congress should make California a Territory, he proposed to eliminate the Territorial stage altogether and have the people of California admitted into the Union with a constitution of their own as promptly as possible. Acting on this idea, Riley issued a proclamation calling for the election of the local

officers required by Mexican law, and at the same time for the election of members of a constitutional convention. The 1st of August was designated as election day, and the date of the meeting of the convention was set for the 1st of September. The number of members and their distribution were points also determined by this military-civil governor—all without reference to the desires of the people, and so far as appeared, with no authority on his part. He succeeded in antagonizing many of the prominent Americans in the territory by declaring the scheme of a provisional government illegal. Nevertheless, his programme met with very general favor, for it was easy to see that the plan of adopting a State constitution rather than a provisional one was wise. In the existing state of feeling over slavery there was no prospect of early action by Congress to provide a Territorial government; though that body, it was presumed, would not refuse to admit California into the Union, considering her population and mineral importance, whenever the people should present a properly framed constitution. Accordingly, it was agreed to accept the arrangements Riley had made for the election of delegates to a convention, and that body convened at Monterey on the 3d of September. The success of the Riley programme was due in part to the presence in California of the Hon. Thomas Butler King, of Georgia, who had been sent by President Taylor as his confidential agent to promote essentially the same policy that Riley, influenced doubtless by the well-known desire of Polk, had already begun to execute.

General Riley's proclamation of June 3, 1849, called for the election of delegates in the districts of San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Monterey, San José, San Francisco, Sonoma, Sacramento, and San Joaquin, to the aggregate number of thirty-seven. The districts receiving the largest number were Monterey, San José, and San Francisco, five each; while Sacramento, San Joaquin, Sonoma, and Los Angeles had four each, and the other three localities two. It was, however, provided that:

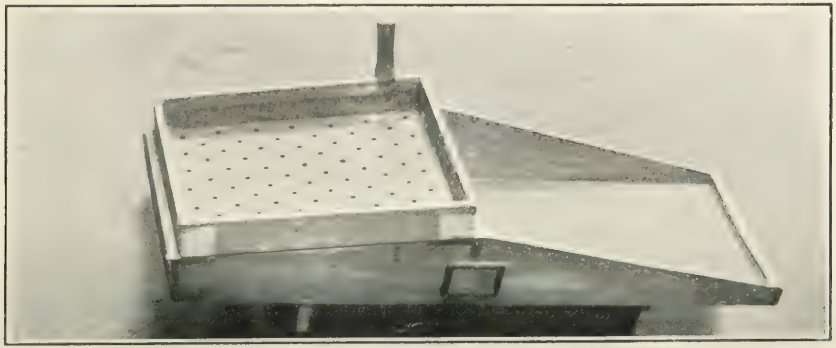
"Should any District think itself entitled to a greater number of Delegates than the above named, it may elect supernumeraries, who, on the organization of the convention, will be admitted or not at the pleasure of that body."

When the doors of Colton Hall [Monterey] were opened on the 1st of September only ten delegates were present, and it was not until Tuesday, September 4th, that an organization was effected by the election of Dr. Robert Semple, of Bear Flag fame, one of the editors of the *Californian*, as president, and William G. Marcy as secretary. Hartnell was appointed interpreter between the Spanish and the English speaking delegates, and J. Ross Browne was given the post of reporter. Meantime the convention found itself facing a serious problem in the matter of its own membership; for, acting on General Riley's suggestion, several districts had chosen supernumeraries, sometimes equal to double the number of their original apportionments. This was justified by the immense increase in the population of the mining districts of Sacramento and San Joaquin, and the commercial city of San Francisco. After much discussion and much controversy between the leaders, it was voted to admit to seats a number of persons in addition to the regular apportionment, on the basis of a minimum popular vote received by individual candidates at the recent election. The result was that instead of thirty-seven delegates the convention finally consisted of forty-eight, of which the San Francisco district had eight, Sacramento eight, San José seven, Monterey six, San Joaquin five, Los Angeles five. The remainder represented the smaller southern districts and Sonoma.

As illustrating the extremely composite character of the California population, it is noteworthy that the forty-eight delegates represented, by nativity, fourteen American States aside from California, and five foreign countries. Nine were either Spaniards or native Californians, among them appearing such prominent names as Carrillo, Vallejo, and Antonio Pico. Of the Americans, twelve were natives of New

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California mission bells, and gold rocker such as used by placer miners. *From originals in the Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.*

York, five of Maryland, three of Virginia, the same number of Ohio, two each of Kentucky and Massachusetts, and one each of New Jersey, Florida, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Missouri. Several, like Larkin and Abel Stearns, had long been residents of California, brought there by the early commerce in hides; a few others, such as Sutter, Hugh Reid, and Julian Hanks, were early colonists; but the vast majority were newcomers. Ten had come direct from New York and seven direct from Missouri. Four had resided last in Louisiana, two in Virginia, three in Maryland, and one each in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Texas. In one respect the traditions of American conventions had been preserved, for there were fourteen lawyers as against thirty-four of all other occupations and professions, including medicine, agriculture, trade, military and naval service, and printing.

The first question to engage the attention of the convention was whether to provide for a State government or for a Territorial government. A few members, including the Spaniards and native Californians, objected to the adoption of a State constitution. Carrillo went so far as to propose a division of the territory on a line drawn east and west in the latitude of San Luis Obispo. The region to the north might create for itself a State government, since it was prevailingly American in population; but the south, which was still essentially Spanish, desired to remain in the Territorial status. The explanation of this movement probably lies in the fear entertained by the native landholders, that the burden of supporting the State government would fall most heavily upon them. The convention refused to endorse their policy, but the question of boundary later became connected with that of slavery.

The subject of slavery presented no serious problem to the convention, since there was an overwhelming sentiment in California favorable to the creation of a free State. The nativities of the delegates indicate by no means the entire

strength of the anti-slavery party, for only a few of those who came from slaveholding States favored the introduction of slavery into California. When the first draft of a constitution was presented, it contained no provision on the subject; but one of the New York men, W. E. Shannon, moved to amend by inserting in the bill of rights the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787. This was adopted without a dissenting voice.

This seemed conclusive enough; yet there were a few Southerners, led by William M. Gwin, of Louisiana, who were anxious to direct the California proceedings in such a manner as to harmonize with the plans of Southern men in Congress. There was no doubt that a free State would be created, but it was thought that this might be done in such a way as to leave an opportunity for a future slave State also. It was proposed to take advantage of the desire of the Spanish-speaking delegates to have California divided.

When the boundary question came up, therefore, Gwin proposed leaving its settlement to Congress. This would at least have the effect of postponing the settlement, and, meantime, Southerners would be at liberty to bring their slaves into the country and make quick fortunes by working them in the mines. But the convention defeated this plan. The boundary was to be settled in the convention, and Congress would have before it nothing but the reception of the new commonwealth, with a constitution against which no proper objection could be made. After heated discussion, the boundaries were fixed as follows: "Commencing at the point of intersection of the 42d degree of north latitude with the 120th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and running south on the line of said 120th degree . . . until it intersects the 39th degree of north latitude; thence running in a straight line in a south-easterly direction to the River Colorado, at a point where it intersects the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence down the middle of the channel of said river, to the boundary line between the United States and Mexico, as established by the treaty

of May 30th, 1848; thence running west and along said boundary line to the Pacific Ocean, and extending therein three English miles; thence running in a north-westerly direction, and following the direction of the Pacific Coast to the 42d degree of north latitude; thence on the line of said 42d degree of north latitude to the place of beginning." This practically made the Sierras the inner boundary, and left the larger portion of the Great Basin, at first proposed to be included in California, to the eastward.

The convention adjourned on October 13th, after completing the constitution and issuing an address to the people of California. A pleasant feature of the session was the good will developed toward General Riley, whose "kindness and courtesy, . . . private and official," were publicly recognized by the members.

The constitution itself was a compilation, and contained nothing calling for special comment, except perhaps the high schedule of salaries, which was due to local conditions. The convention provided for an election to be held on November 13th. This was for the purpose of securing a vote on the constitution, and also for the choice of State officers, members of the legislature, and representatives in Congress. Should the people ratify the constitution, it was provided that the State legislature should meet at San José, the place designated as the capital, on December 15th, and within four days after its organization proceed to the election of United States senators. This schedule necessitated prompt action on the part of all those who were candidates for office, and politics was the leading occupation of a goodly number for the next thirty days. The rains having already set in, and a great storm prevailing on election day in portions of the State, the vote was very light. Yet, somewhat over 14,000 ballots were cast, some of them blanks, of which 12,061 were for the constitution and only 811 against. General Riley therefore proclaimed its ratification, and on the appointed day the legislature convened at San José.

The office of governor was sought by five candidates; but Peter H. Burnett received 6,716 votes as against 7,483 for all others (W. S. Sherwood, 3,188; John A. Sutter, 2,201; John W. Geary, 1,475; W. M. Stewart, 619), and was duly elected. He was inaugurated on the 20th of December; the other State officers were sworn in, and the new government went into immediate effect. The legislature elected Colonel John C. Frémont United States Senator on the first ballot, and William M. Gwin on the third. The latter was chosen partly on account of his radical pro-slavery views, the Californians feeling that his election might conciliate the southern opposition to their free State constitution.

The short session of Congress which opened in December, 1848, closed in the succeeding March without action, as we have seen, though there was much debate on slavery in the Territories. Calhoun had succeeded in tacking upon the general appropriation bill an amendment announcing his principle that the Federal Constitution extended over the new Territories, carrying slavery with it. This passed the Senate, but was finally eliminated at the insistent demand of the House.

When the Thirty-first Congress assembled, President Taylor announced his belief that the California people had already framed a constitution, and urged that on its presentation to Congress the State should be admitted into the Union without unnecessary delay. The constitution was submitted, and Frémont and Gwin, the senators from the new State, arrived. Calhoun was almost dying, but he fought the statehood bill to the end. The question of admitting California (which was only one, but the most vital of a series of questions involving slavery then under discussion, Mr. Clay having gathered them all up in his famous compromise bill of January, 1850) came to a vote in the Senate on the 13th of August, 1850, and was carried, ayes 34, nays 18. On the 7th of September, the bill passed the House by the decisive majority of 150 to 56; and two

days later it received the approval of President Fillmore, Taylor having died on the 9th of July. The California senators were sworn in, against the protest of the southern leaders.

The people of California had been waiting most impatiently to learn what Congress proposed to do for them. As the great debate dragged on month after month they alternately hoped and feared. Like the people of Oregon two years earlier, they were beginning to feel themselves greatly wronged by the government's neglect, when, on the 18th of October, the steamer *Oregon* entered the Golden Gate floating a banner inscribed: "California is a State." The joy of the people knew no bounds. "Newspapers containing the intelligence sold for five dollars each. The shipping in the harbor was gaily dresssd in flags; guns boomed from the height; bonfires blazed at night; processions were formed; bands played." On the 29th, a great celebration was held, and every year since 1850 "Admission Day" has been observed as a holiday in California.

CHAPTER XVIII

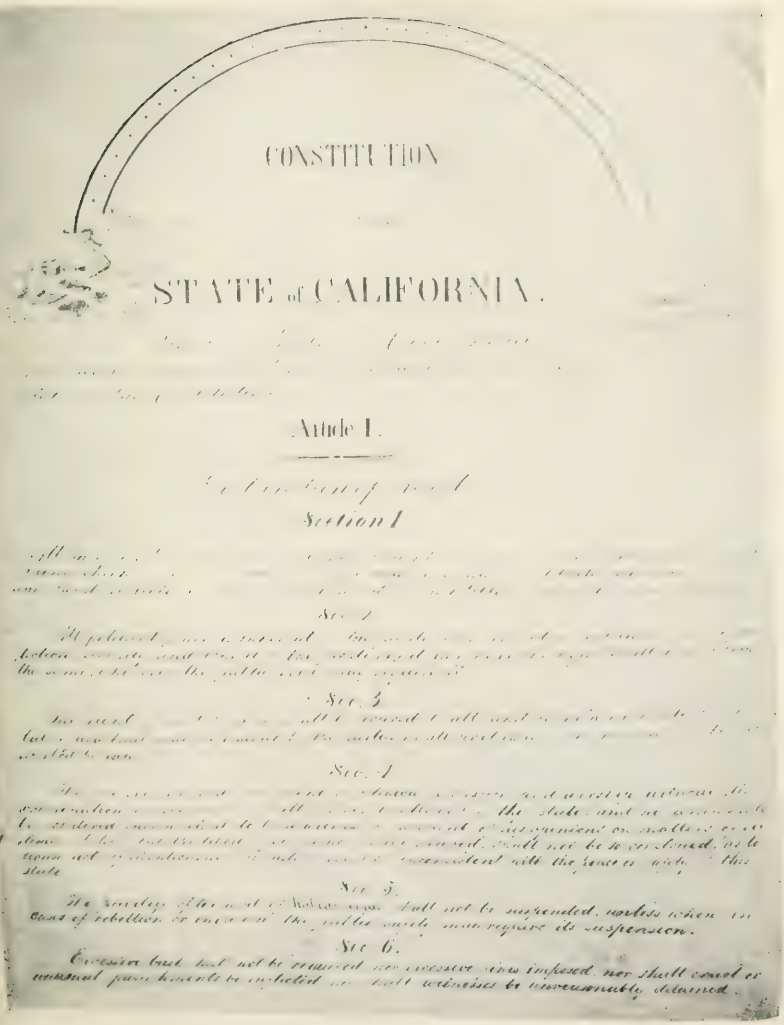
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIAL ORDER

California has been unique among American commonwealths in many ways; but in no respect has it differed more strikingly from others than in the magnitude and complexity of the political and social problems which confronted it at its entrance into the Union. Other newly created States had usually been simple communities, with populations almost wholly American, with no large cities, with little or no foreign commerce, nothing, in short, to render perplexing the application of well-understood and traditional principles of government. The people of these communities were spread out over broad prairies or through river valleys, upon farms whose boundaries had been marked by the government surveyors, and the titles to which had been secured by a direct process through the United States land office. All, or nearly all, were property holders, bound to the public interest through concern for their private fortunes. They could therefore be trusted to manage their own local affairs under the institutional forms of town or county with which they were familiar. State legislatures had comparatively little to do save to adopt some general body of laws already in operation elsewhere, add to it the few special enactments imperatively demanded by their constituents, and to extend the system of local government so as to keep pace with the spread of population. Their chief problem was to limit expenditures to the resources of a prospectively great, yet actually poor and

struggling community. The administrative officers of the State found all their functions prescribed by custom and precedent, so that with ordinary intelligence and care no serious mistakes could be made. New States, in the history of the expanding republic, had been but the occasional transplanting of old institutions to new territories, where nearly all the conditions of life were less complex than in the older commonwealths. Hence the almost universal success which attended the launching of such new creations. When a more intricate situation appeared in any direction, a fund of experience acquired upon the ground, or imported from one of the parent States, was at hand to afford a solution of the problem.

But California was a territory of vast extent and complex physical structure, presenting many natural obstacles to political and social unity. It had long been occupied by a people of un-American race, possessing a comparatively low grade of political ability, who had never succeeded in attaining substantial unity or anything beyond an indifferent state of order and justice. The Americans who entered the country before the conquest had complained of the condition of things, one of them, writing in April, 1846, saying: "We have priests, a governor, and alcaldes, but neither law nor gospel." This is an extreme statement; yet the frequency of revolutions, the prevalence of theft and other crimes, whose perpetrators often banded together to secure immunity to themselves by overthrowing the existing government, demonstrate that no true, permanent social order had been established before the close of the Mexican régime.

The experiences of the conquest intensified the race antagonism already existing; but all would doubtless have become harmonious in time, with the progress of mutual acquaintanceship, intermarriages, and like amalgamations had the Californians remained for a few years numerically equal or superior to the Americans. But the rush for gold completely submerged the natives, and by the rapid population of the country, the multiplicity of the social elements



CONSTITUTION

STATE of CALIFORNIA.

Article I.

Section 1

Sec. 2

Sec. 3

Sec. 4

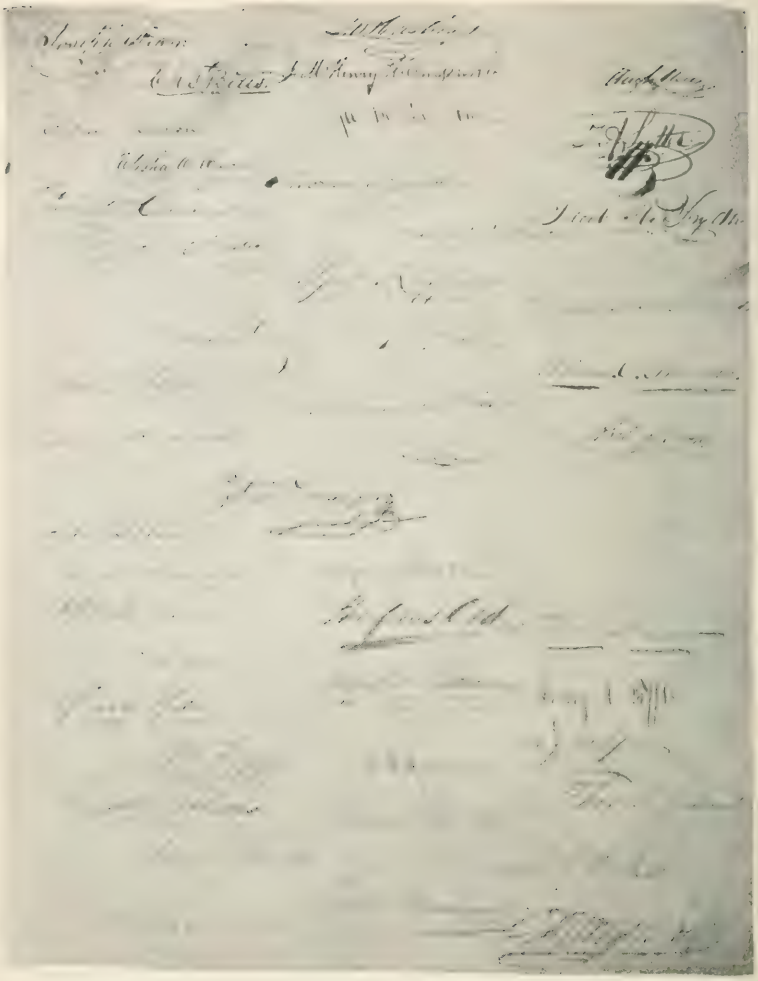
Sec. 5.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require its suspension.

Sec. 6.

Excessive bail shall not be required nor excessive fines imposed, nor shall cruel or unusual punishments be inflicted nor shall witnesses be unreasonably detained.

First page of Constitution of the State of California. *From the original in the State Capitol, Sacramento.*



Signers of Constitution of the State of California. *From the original in the State Capitol, Sacramento.*

it brought together, the universal scramble for wealth and disregard of social obligations which it engendered, the wholly unprecedented grouping of the people, the weakness of family life and the magnitude of the irresponsible class created by it, brought into the foreground a series of questions, social, economic, and political, which differed both in kind and in degree from any with which new States had before dealt. The magnitude and velocity of the movement were indeed well calculated to create confusion in all minds. When we couple with this fact an intricacy of life hardly matched by that of the old and fully developed States, themselves the outcome of a long process of evolution, it is not at all surprising that many should have regarded the task of mastering this chaotic situation as next to impossible, and that for a few years California history should have been distinctly a "struggle for order." But in the space of about a decade, the threatened disasters of the early years were averted, and California emerged a great, orderly, enlightened, and progressive commonwealth.

Among the provisions of the new State constitution, which went into operation during the month of December, 1849, was one requiring the first legislature to establish a system of county and town governments; and in order that these might go into operation without loss of time, the same body was given power to appoint the first set of county supervisors. A complete judicial system was also outlined, embracing a supreme court, district courts, county courts, and justices of the peace. The first legislature divided the State into twenty-seven counties, giving to most of them the old, musical Spanish names, which are now in some localities almost the sole reminders of California's Spanish origin. The counties were grouped into nine judicial districts, county seats established for most of them, and provision made for the appointment, support, and future election of county officers.

In the average new State it would have been a simple matter to make the actual system of local government harmonize with these provisions, but in California it was not

so. There was first of all the obstacle of an earlier set of department, district, and town officials, which had persisted through the years of transition, with the consent of the military governors, who hesitated to force a wholly unfamiliar system on the people. These it was necessary to supersede, and some time was required to accustom the native Californians to the change. Secondly, and this was much more serious, the numerous mining camps had so thoroughly acquired the habit of enforcing a sort of irregular, spontaneous justice, that they were slow to unlearn it, and frequently a struggle ensued before the lawful officers could establish their authority. So stubborn, at times, was this fight between "lynch law" and statute law, that some writers have found in it that "struggle for order" which all recognize as a characteristic of the period. And yet "lynch law" in itself, usually so reprehensible, here illustrated a striving after order just as truly as does the sheriff's posse in pursuit of a murderer, or the court's bailiff when placing a prisoner in jail and guarding him there against the threat of mob violence. To understand how "lynch law" grew up it is necessary to examine somewhat carefully the life of mining camps.

The first fact which distinguishes such aggregations of humanity from ordinary civilized communities is the absence of the family. The vast majority of the gold seekers were young men who had come from every section of the United States, and from nearly every other country of the world, for the sole purpose of amassing wealth, expecting to return as soon as their fortunes were made. Many were mere reckless adventurers, and many should have been serving out terms in the prisons of the country from which they had escaped. The mass of the miners, however, were Americans of fairly sound principles, representative of the average citizen. A few had brought their families across the plains, but the great majority of the married men had left wife and children in the East. Comparatively few felt any interest in California, except for the fortune which was

to be made there. These men but desired an opportunity to dig and pan on a particular spot, and, if this did not satisfy expectations, to seek out a new location anywhere within the far-stretching region said to be gold bearing. For convenience in moving, therefore, the miner was equipped with a light outfit, containing his change of clothes, tent, bed and camp utensils, pan, pick, and shovel. These, with some provisions, he usually carried on a single pack animal, and frequently he bore his entire outfit on his back. Arriving at the "diggings," he staked out his claim in some hitherto unworked portion of the bar or river bank, being protected in his rights by the fundamental rules of that particular mining region, which had been adopted by a meeting of the miners when the diggings were opened. He spread his tent in the vicinity of others on the higher ground above the river, and went to work.

Accounts of the wealth panned out in a few days during the early period read now like tales from the *Arabian Nights*. In 1848, one company, employing fifty Indians, secured two hundred and seventy-three pounds of gold dust in seven weeks; several Mormons, near Coloma, made from five thousand to twenty thousand dollars apiece in a few weeks; at Dry Diggings, on American River, the first comers were rewarded with from three to five pounds of gold per man daily; a nugget found by a member of the Stockton Company weighed eighty and one-half ounces and was worth one thousand dollars; the pioneer prospectors of the Stanislaus took out metal to the value of two hundred to three hundred dollars per day each; while on the Tuolumne one Californian, with two Indians, secured forty-five ounces.

Some of the characteristics of mining life are well illustrated by the career of Samuel Hancock, of the Puget Sound settlement, who went to California with Burnett's wagon train in the fall of 1848. His story is preserved in the curious manuscript history of *Thirteen Years*. When the Oregon party reached the great valley they first visited the diggings on Feather River, where miners were making,

with pan and rocker, from sixteen to thirty dollars per day each. This was hardly inducement enough to men who had braved the hardships of the trip from the north in order to get rich quickly, so they drove on to Yuba River. But there conditions were no better, and they went to Sutter's Fort for advice as to the best paying locations. Captain Sutter recommended the south branch of American River, where they at last went to work. They made from sixteen to fifty dollars per day each, which was only a little better than the results obtained at the first mines visited. This failed to satisfy Hancock, who sold his wagon and oxen in order to get provisions to carry him to other "diggings," and having paid one dollar and thirty-five cents a pound for pickled pork, thirty-five cents a pound for flour, one dollar for sugar, and one dollar and fifty cents for coffee he passed on with two other Americans and one Spaniard (everyone who spoke the Spanish language, either Californian, Mexican, South American, or Castilian, was called a Spaniard), to the middle fork of American River, where they succeeded in taking out fifty dollars per day each. At this place, Hancock helped to hang a Spaniard convicted by an impromptu jury of being a gold thief. He had himself lost a purse of gold, but although suspicion attached to a certain person, he prevailed on the miners to let the man live, being personally doubtful of the fellow's guilt. With the help of several others he undertook to dam the river at a certain point so as to change its course and leave a portion of the old bed dry. This done, they washed out the sands of the river bed, making the first day one hundred and fifty dollars each and the second five hundred and twenty dollars. Hancock afterward joined six others for winter quarters, which they took up in a protected cañon.

After having thus spent about three months, on the whole very profitably, in the mines, Hancock became ill and went to Sutter's Mill. He found there a log cabin hotel where he spent six weeks at eight dollars per day for board and lodging. During the same period he was attended by a



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Will dispatch their first vessel from New York, the NEW and SPLENDID

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On FRIDAY, MARCH 23d, 1849,

Via the River St. Juan and Lake Nicaragua, across the Isthmus of Iron

Capt. HOBSON, of the U. S. Topographical Engineers.

200 JACK ASSES!

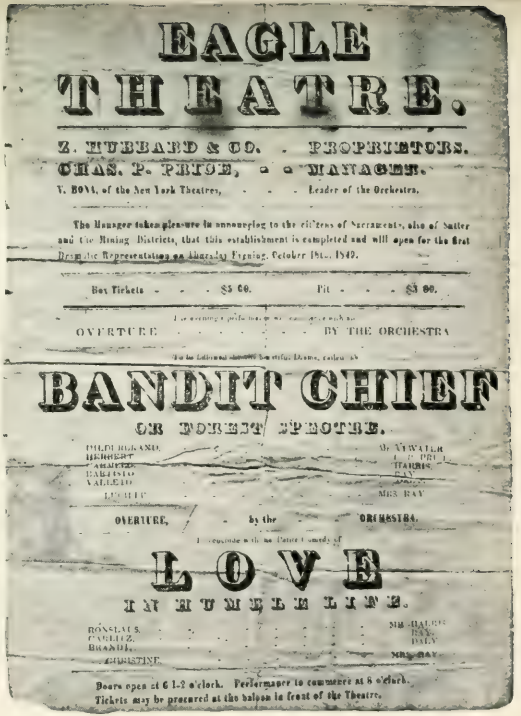
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The Manager takes pleasure in announcing to the citizens of Sacramento, also of Sutter and the Mining Districts, that this establishment is completed and will open for the first Dramatic Representation on Thursday Evening, October 18th, 1849.

Box Tickets - - - $5 00. Pit - - - $3 00.

OVERTURE - - - - - - BY THE ORCHESTRA

BANDIT CHIEF

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PHILIP ROLAND,	Mr. WEAVER
HERBERT,	Mr. C. PRICE
AMALFI,	HARRIS
BARTISTO,	DAY
VALLETO,	[illegible]
LUCIFF,	MRS. RAY

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LOVE

IN HUMBLE LIFE.

RONSLAUS,	MR. HALPIN
CAPELLE,	DAY
BRANDT,	DALY
CHRISTINE,	MRS. RAY

Doors open at 6 1-2 o'clock. Performance to commence at 8 o'clock.

Tickets may be procured at the saloon in front of the Theatre.

Handbills relating to the gold rush and to the opening of the Eagle Theatre, October 18, 1849.
From the originals in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.


THE NEW YORK
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physician at the rate of an "ounce" for each call. Finding that his savings were disappearing at an alarming rate, he decided, as he says, to leave "these diggings." So he bought two horses, rode to Leidesdorff's ranch and secured a small bunch of cattle, which he drove with much difficulty (being compelled to fight off Indians) to Kelsey's Dry Diggings. There he sold them at a large profit for three thousand dollars. Soon afterward he went down to San Francisco, took ship northward, and arrived safely at Budd's Inlet (Olympia) a man of property, prepared to take advantage of the new commercial opportunities created in this region by the astonishing development of California.

Hancock's experience is a fair sample of what befell the ordinary, steady, industrious, and enterprising American miner in the early days. His reminiscent story fails to show that he took any interest at all in California politics. He was there to find gold with which to do business on Puget Sound. He got his gold by panning and rocking, sometimes working alone, sometimes in partnership with a few other men. His relations with these, with his wintering campfellows and those immediately about him in the gulch, and afterward at the "hotel" where he was ill, were the source of such social obligations as he recognized. When his neighbor's right of property was invaded he assisted in the trial and execution of the thief without considering the question of jurisdiction; but he refused to hang a suspected thief whose guilt was not clearly proven when he himself was the victim of theft.

During this early period there was virtually no regular law in the mining districts, nearly all of which were in new sections of the country, possessing not even in full the old Mexican organization. In a few of the most important places which sprang up as supply centres, alcaldes and other officers were chosen; but the mining camps themselves were left, until the establishment of the State government, practically to their own devices. The elements of disorder were numerous, and in places dangerously strong. Many

native Californians of the lawless type, some of the Sonorans, Mexicans, Australians, and many of the Americans were in the country not so much for the purpose of honestly accumulating a fortune, as for securing it in the easiest and most direct way. Sometimes they worked in a camp for a few days until they understood the "lay of the land," then stole all the dust they could get and tried to escape; or they organized bands of highwaymen, who lay in wait for the miner or small party carrying treasure to Sutter's Fort or to San Francisco. They did not hesitate at murder if it was deemed necessary to the attainment of their ends.

The regular authorities did not suffice to punish such crimes; usually no officers could be found, and if they were found the complicated processes of the Mexican law would have made conviction troublesome and uncertain. The miners, to whom time was all-important, who desired peace and order to the end that gold might be accumulated in safety against their speedy departure, were hardly willing to give to thieves, robbers, and murderers the encouragement of delayed justice, with the chance of inadequate penalties and ultimate escape from the rickety jails of the country. Then, too, the question of penalty was an important one. In settled communities theft is not, and ought not to be, a capital crime. But in a mining camp, where there were often hundreds of thousands of dollars in gold dust carelessly exposed in a few score unguarded tents, ordinary penalties would not serve the purpose. Something more drastic was necessary to deter evil men from robbing their fellows of their entire fortunes. Therefore it was established as the fundamental law of mining camps, that the filcher of gold dust merited death.

This feeling that a special law was necessary in the mining districts, was a powerful motive for the development of "lynch law," and also for the persistence of the camps in maintaining it after the State government had gone into full effect. As time passed, however, the revolution in mining methods gradually changed the character

of the camp from a loose collection of tents or rag covered huts to a permanent village; the miner became a citizen in the full sense of the word, with a home, property, and everything to attach him to the public interest; and with this change the necessity for lynch law disappeared. Moreover, the man who lived in one of these communities, usually with his family, owning stock in a valuable flume, or in a quartz mine with its expensive machinery and works, had no such inclination to take the law into his own hands as had the irresponsible prospector of the early years. The sense of responsibility had sobered him; he looked to the law of the State to afford him protection; and he developed a sense of responsibility for its maintenance. By the middle of the decade 1850 to 1860 mining communities were usually as orderly as any others in which an equal number of persons lived together. If large villages, they supported schools, churches, clubs, and other socializing influences. Excessive drinking and gambling were discountenanced and the villagers took an active interest in the election of county and State officers, as well as in regulating their own local affairs.

But the attainment of order in the mines was the solution of but one of the problems which confronted the California people during this period. More important, because farther reaching, was the question of decency and order in San Francisco, the great commercial centre not alone of California, but of the entire Pacific coast. The growth of this town had been marvellous. Its harbor was the gateway to the mines for all comers by sea, it was the port of entry of all the shipping destined for the northern part of the State, and the point from which all the gold was sent out to enrich the world's currency. The gold rush, when it came, found here a small but energetic village; in two years it was a city, cosmopolitan, furiously active, with an aggregate wealth amounting to many millions, and a commerce which was reaching and influencing directly or indirectly the entire human race. More than six hundred vessels entered the

harbor in 1849. Forty thousand persons, probably, arrived by sea, many of whom became either temporary or permanent residents of the city, and all of whom contributed to its prosperity.

Except for the old adobe buildings, and a few score wooden ones, the city for a brief time was mainly of canvas, although there were made the most vigorous efforts to secure lumber from the redwood forests to the south, from the Columbia, Willamette and Puget Sound, in sufficient quantities to meet the building demand; while every procurable laborer was employed at enormous wages in erecting wharves, warehouses, shops, stores, and dwellings. The mercantile business of the place became at once enormous, while the temporary care of the homeless multitudes thronging to or from the mines gave opportunity for numberless hotels, restaurants, and lodging houses, ranging in character from Chinese kitchens where one dollar paid for a fair meal to pretentious places charging a rate more than five times as high. Every nationality, every class was represented in these establishments. Such was the rapidity of growth in 1849 and 1850, that rents and building sites rose to almost fabulous prices. One hotel, the famous Parker House, was leased to a company of gamblers at $15,000 per month, on which, by underletting portions of it, large profits were made. Lots which before the rush could have been bought for fifteen or twenty dollars, sold afterward for forty or fifty thousand. Poor men, the owners of such property, found themselves suddenly raised to a state of opulence, sometimes even to the rank of millionaires. On all sides was the wildest speculation. "Stretching its youthful limbs in the gusty air, San Francisco grew apace, covering the drift sand which was soon to be tied down by civilization, carving the slopes into home sites for climbing habitations, till they reached the crests, levelling the hills, by blasting out ballast for returning vessels, or material for filling in behind the rapidly advancing piling in the cove."



The "Bear" flag, probably the identical flag raised by the California revolutionists at Sonoma, June 14, 1846, and lowered July 11th to make place for the flag of the United States. *From the original in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.*



Certificate of membership in the Committee of Vigilance. *From the original in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.*



This unprecedented rate of development, and the crowding together there of the most diverse elements of humanity, including many of its very dregs, imposed upon the city the most difficult problems of government. As in other places, the Mexican municipal laws persisted all too long in San Francisco, though the actual officers were by the spring of 1848 practically all foreigners, and mainly Americans. In the winter following, finding the burden of government under the old system too heavy, some of the citizens took it upon themselves to organize a new one, consisting of an assembly of fifteen members in place of the old *ayuntamiento*, and several justices of the peace who were expected to displace the alcalde. The old government however, refused to abdicate, and San Francisco was afflicted with a double set of town officers. This lasted until June, 1849, when a new election was ordered by Governor Riley in view of the proposed establishment of a State government.

The result of the factional quarrel, besides influencing the calling of a constitutional convention, and developing a civic consciousness among a large class of people, was to encourage criminality. A party of young scoundrels, calling themselves "The Hounds," many of them disbanded soldiers of the New York regiment, organized at this time for such amusement as the place might afford, and began plundering right and left, especially among Spanish-speaking residents. They became so bold as to levy tribute upon merchants for "protection," and practically terrorized the whole town. About the middle of July they set themselves the task of driving all "foreigners" from San Francisco. This attack aroused the people to resistance. A volunteer body of troops was organized, which hunted down the marauders, imprisoned many, and drove the rest out of the city. This was the citizens' first experience in quelling lawlessness, but not the last.

During 1850 and 1851 social conditions grew gradually worse. Families were still comparatively rare in San Francisco, although there were some even from the beginning

of the gold rush, and others had come in with the immigration. There were also present, in some effectiveness, other elements of social stability such as the church and the school. The work of Dr. William Taylor, known as "Father Taylor," afterward the Bishop of Africa, which began in 1849, is noteworthy. He relates how after landing from his ship in September he found a Methodist communicant, after much search, and began at once to organize a church. He was also a most effective street preacher, gathering about himself every evening in the Plaza men of all sorts and conditions, many of whom he was able to rescue from lives of vice and shame, and to make of them sound, true men, devoted to the higher interests of Christian civilization. And Taylor was not alone in this work. There was in the city a leaven of active Christianity, but, for a time, little impression could be made on the seething mass of humanity, which here seemed bent on testing for itself every form of wickedness before settling down to a life of sobriety and virtue. Gambling was all but universal. There was a time when the man who refused to gamble was regarded as a social reprobate, and it was a current joke in San Francisco, during the early days, that ministers of the Gospel usually turned gamblers shortly after arriving in the wicked city. With gambling went almost as universal drunkenness, promoted by an endless array of drinking saloons. Vice, fostered by the presence of disreputable women, was prevalent in every part of the city. Thieves, cutthroats, and incendiaries abounded; their nefarious doings were not confined to the hours of darkness, as is usual, but often extended through the day as well. Twice was the city burned, in large parts, during two months of the year 1851. Millions of property were destroyed, thousands were left homeless and destitute, while bands of robbers plundered everywhere during the progress of the conflagrations.

But the popular conscience revolted against this lawlessness, which the city government hardly pretended to

restrain. Accordingly, when in February, 1851, two robbers entered a merchant's place of business, wounded the proprietor and stole his goods and money, a citizens' organization for the repression of crime was proposed. The outcome was the First Vigilance Committee. Two men suspected of this particular outrage had been arrested, and it was the desire of some to execute them at once. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed, a court and jury were appointed, and a regular trial instituted, which demonstrated that one of the suspects was innocent and failed to establish the guilt of the other. With this performance the First Vigilance Committee disbanded. A few months later, in June, a second committee was organized, which lasted several months and accomplished much in the way of reform. Four thieves were hanged, and many others were frightened away, to reappear as some of the "Hounds" had done, on lone highways or in mountain recesses.

For several years thereafter San Francisco was freed from the anomaly of "popular tribunals." Some progress had been made in educating the people to the performance of their legal responsibilities as citizens; greater care was taken in the election of officers and considerable improvement made in public morality. The population was increasing very fast, and the later years were bringing a more sober, steady class of immigrants, with a large proportion of families. Church, school, and home grew into positions of great importance, if they did not yet reach the plane of influence which they occupied in older communities; a large number of business and professional men from eastern cities had established themselves in this western town to develop its business possibilities, and these were a powerful factor in the establishment of order. Yet the city government was frequently infected with fraud and corruption; a system of "graft" was eating out its resources, and fastening upon the people an enormous municipal debt. A rapid decline of prosperity in the years 1854–1855 brought the dangers of the situation sharply before the community, so that by the

spring of 1856 there was a widespread and insistent demand for drastic reforms, along more general lines than in the earlier years.

The movement reflected itself in the new daily paper called *The Bulletin*, founded toward the end of the year 1855 by James King. The editor immediately began a campaign against official defaulters and corruptionists of all sorts, publishing their names, together with every obtainable detail of their misdeeds. King refused to fight duels, hence the means of revenge were restricted to open violence or legal justice. Among those attacked in *The Bulletin* was one James Casey, a public official and rival editor whose criminal record was mercilessly exposed. On May 14, 1856, the two men met in the street, and Casey deliberately shot King, inflicting a mortal wound.

This incident aroused the public sentiment, which demanded the dethronement of the existing city government, the execution of Casey and any others who might be found in a suspected conspiracy for the murder of King, and in general the purification of the city. In a few days all details were prepared for the organization of an enormous Vigilance Committee which is deservedly marked off from others of the same kind by the epithet "Great." It was headed by a group of distinguished business men, the most active of whom was W. T. Coleman. All citizens favoring the movement were asked to enroll themselves, and they responded to the number of thousands. The militia gave its adherence, so that the State government which once thought to interfere found itself impotent and soon ceased its resistance.

On Sunday afternoon, May 18, 1856, an improvised army of more than two thousand, drilled for the purpose and well armed, marched to the jail, followed by an immense concourse of citizens. It was the Great Vigilance Committee in motion. Its business at this time was to take charge of Casey, and another scoundrel named Cora. They were placed for safety in the headquarters of the

committee, a building which was afterward fortified with bags of sand,—"Fort Gunny-bags,"—and defended by means of a park of artillery. On Tuesday, May 20th, at half-past one, James King breathed his last. The news was proclaimed by the tolling of bells, the lowering of flags on the ships in port, the draping of dwellings and business houses. The excitement was tremendous, all interest being centred in the headquarters building where, behind well-guarded doors, Casey and Cora were being tried for their lives. Everything was done in a regular way; the accused were given opportunity to make such defence as they could; and, both being convicted of murder, they were allowed time to arrange their affairs and obtain the consolations of religion. Two days later, at an hour when King's funeral had drawn the masses away, the condemned men were executed.

Having acquitted itself so well of the immediate task before it, the committee proceeded to institute other reforms. It investigated criminal practices of all sorts, intimidated ballot-box stuffers, and inspected local finances. It gained such a reputation for justice and power that its interference was sought by people from every part of the State, and it was even asked to assist in the settlement of grave political questions like that of slavery. Gradually, however, the consciousness of its anomalous character forced itself upon the citizens of San Francisco, and on the 18th of August, after a great civic parade, the organization disbanded. The fruit of its work appeared soon after in the election of a thoroughly reformed city government, under which San Francisco became a well-ordered, well-governed American city.

By that time, too, other problems were settled. The State government, which had at first no established place of abode settled at Sacramento; the legislature had gained a measure of conservatism; and the executive and judicial authorities were making themselves respected throughout the borders of the vast territory which the constitution committed to their jurisdiction.

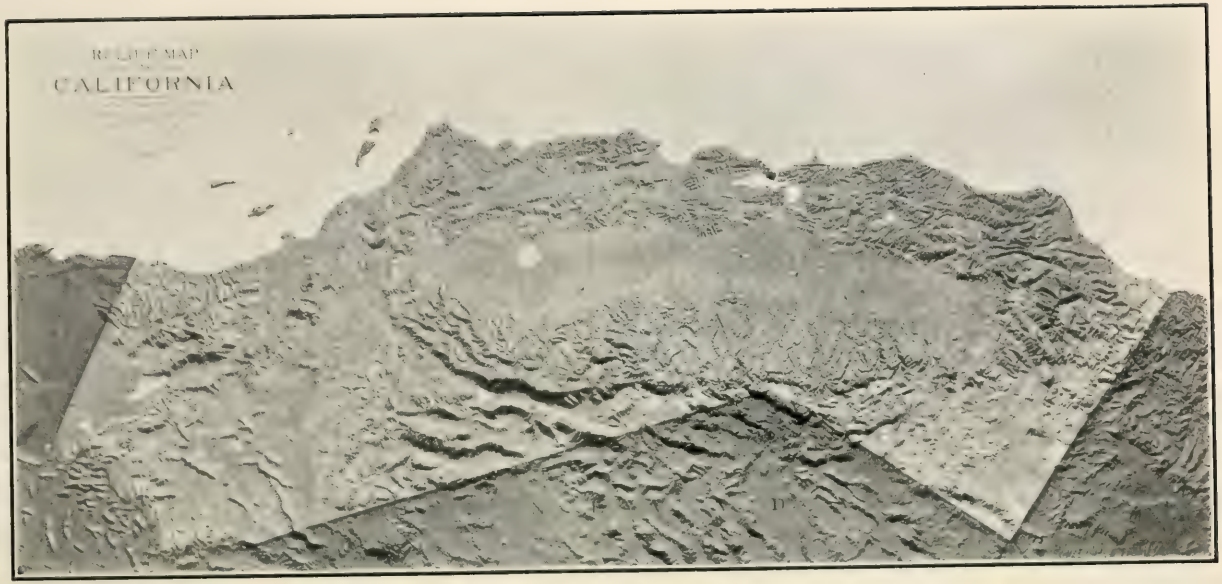
At the time of the Vigilance Committee the Know-nothing party was in control, having elected Neely Johnson governor; but the struggle in which that party won victory was unimportant. The real struggle was yet to come, first within the dominant Democratic party between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions, and secondly between this party and the new Republican organization. The approach of the Civil War found the political tide in California running high. The Democratic factions had long been following the two great leaders, Senator Gwin and David C. Broderick, the first the leader of the Southern sympathizers, the second of the anti-slavery or Northern people. Gwin had been successful until in the legislative session of 1855 Broderick was able to prevent his reëlection to the United States Senate, leaving the seat vacant to be filled at the next session [1857]. By that time the other senator's term was likewise about to expire, and Broderick managed to secure his own election to this seat, allowing Gwin to succeed himself for the short term, but on condition that all Federal patronage be relinquished to Broderick. This was a new cause of rupture in the momentarily reunited Democracy, the Southern contingent resenting bitterly the subordination of their chosen leader. In Washington the great debate of the decade drew Broderick to the support of the free State constitution in Kansas, and when he returned to California in 1859 he proceeded to reorganize the Democratic party on that issue. But before the election a combination was effected between his faction and the Republicans, which, in 1860, brought that party into control in the State with Leland Stanford as governor. A feature of the campaign was the slaying of Broderick by Judge Terry, of the State Supreme Court, who was undoubtedly put forward as the first of a series of challengers pledged to destroy this redoubtable political antagonist. His death and his dying words: "They killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery," helped powerfully to create that enthusiasm for the cause of freedom with which California

entered upon the period of the Civil War. The new State on the Pacific was to demonstrate its patriotism at this crisis in national affairs by sending east thousands of its young men for the defence of the Union, and by giving of its wealth with characteristic liberality for the support of Union principles.

Another grave question awaiting adjustment at the time of the new State's birth was that of land titles. Much of the interior valley was covered by Mexican grants, while other places were harassed with mission and pueblo grants running back, some of them, into the Spanish period. About the time of the conquest a number of great tracts were given away by the California authorities under circumstances strongly suggesting fraud. Therefore, when the United States government came into control it appeared that a large share of the territory had already ceased to be public domain. The government had agreed, by the terms of the Mexican treaty, to respect all rights of property; but many in and out of Congress felt that the question of California land titles ought at least to be investigated, which would have been justifiable from the known frequency of fraud in making the later grants. But, at the instance of Senator Gwin, Congress unwisely passed a law requiring all holders of lands under Spanish and Mexican titles to prove their right of property, an act which brought great and needless distress, trouble, and expense upon the native Californians.

Some of these land title questions remained unsettled until about 1870; but by the end of the decade of 1860 much progress had been made in their adjustment, and a large agricultural population had planted itself in the great valley and in other fertile sections of the State. It was partly the growth of agriculture which had caused the mercantile depression of 1854 and 1855 in San Francisco, local production of wheat, pork, and other food stuffs playing havoc with the shipping interests of the port. Manufacturing, also, especially of lumber and of mineral products, was becoming an important industry. The population of the State had grown from 92,579 in 1850 to 379,994 in 1860. San Francisco was a city of 56,000.





Relief map of California, modelled under the direction of Willard D. Johnson in 1893.
From the original in the Memorial Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

CHAPTER XIX

A DECADE OF NORTHWESTERN HISTORY

WHILE events of so momentous a nature had been in progress in California, most important changes had occurred within the limits of the Oregon Territory. To the ordinary American mind, as we can readily understand, California had almost come to represent the entire Pacific coast. Oregon, a name which at one time was on the lips of poets, statesmen, philanthropists, adventurers, and pioneers alike, had apparently lost much of its charm and potency; the achievements of its early explorers, its missionaries and first settlers, were forgotten; while the Territory itself was commonly thought of in its geographical relations to the land of gold. The tendencies of Pacific coast history had been completely reversed by the gold discovery and the universal rush to the mines. The very roadway across plains and mountains, carved by the pioneers of Oregon, had, since the momentous season of 1849, been known as the "California trail"; and were it not that the older title had at an earlier time been affixed to Parkman's famous book of travel and description, it is possible that the "Oregon trail" would have been completely lost to history. Even the most intelligent Easterners, like Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield *Republican*, who visited the Pacific coast with Speaker Colfax in 1865, knew almost nothing of Oregon. He declared that he was prepared for California, but that Oregon was a revelation. Yet the decade immediately

preceding the Civil War had brought to the region a substantial development, less dramatic than that of California, but indicative of steady growth and prophetic of ultimate greatness.

It would be impossible to say just how far the gold discovery and the extraordinary activities in the south were responsible for changes further north, but unquestionably these imparted new life to the Pacific coast as a whole. In August, 1848, there were in Oregon something like thirteen thousand people, living for the most part on farms scattered through the Willamette valley. A few score dwelt upon the waters of Puget Sound, and along the road and river line from Budd's Inlet to the Columbia; a few others were centred about Fort Vancouver. The densest settlements were in the lower and middle portions of the great valley, where, besides the farm homes, were to be found a few small villages, of which Oregon City, with a population of about eight hundred, was the largest and most important.

Trade conditions had not been very propitious in Oregon for several years prior to 1850. Before the great emigrations began to arrive in the country, the supply of wheat was always very limited. The demand came partly from the Hudson's Bay Company and partly from the newcomers arriving each fall overland. Sometimes the latter required nearly the entire surplus, and always every bushel of wheat could be exchanged at the company's store at a reasonable profit. But the area of cultivation had been increased, and the surplus product had become larger than the demand. Others besides the fur company entered the mercantile field, yet the market for wheat improved very slowly. All the settlers, with a few individual exceptions, were poor. Many families, straining every resource to build a home for their future security, found even the ordinary comforts of life temporarily beyond their means. Of plain food there was an abundance, for nearly all were farmers, and the rich soil produced grain and vegetables almost without stint, while cattle and hogs were usually plentiful, and wild game still

abounded. But clothing, boots and shoes, groceries, all sorts of manufactured articles, household and farming utensils and implements, were scarce and high. Men, to save their woven clothing, sometimes wore buckskin hunting shirts while at their farm work, and went barefooted, even to the church services. The women wore Indian moccasins and linsey-woolsey dresses. Houses were built of logs, often laid up in the form of two cribs, with a space between them, the whole roofed over with rough boards covered with split shingles; all had the projecting fireplace and chimney. Barns and other farm buildings were of logs, and the fields were enclosed with the traditional frontier "worm fence." Everything except the patches actually under cultivation—an insignificant fraction of the valley land—was common range for stock. Roads were mere trails across the openings, through fields and woods, serviceable in the dry season, but practically impassable in winter except in spots redeemed by natural drainage or by the settler's "corduroy." Grist mills, saw mills, blacksmiths' shops, all those elementary manufacturing institutions without which civilization can hardly be said to exist, were as yet so sparingly distributed that farmers experienced the greatest inconvenience from this cause. Wheat was often carried sixty miles to be ground into flour, and the few settlers who in the spring of 1848 planted themselves in the upper part of the Willamette valley obtained some of their flour and other provisions from Oregon City, more than one hundred miles below. The river was the great highway, and many settlers had boats for private use, there being as yet no public boats above Willamette Falls.

The news of the gold discovery found the Oregon settlers in their harvest fields. Excitement was intense. "Nothing seems to be going on now," wrote Governor Abernethy on the 17th of August, "but fitting up for California." Many went down on the vessels touching at the Columbia, the earliest of which carried them at fifty dollars for cabin or thirty dollars for deck passage. So great was the rush for

berths that these prices quickly rose to eighty dollars and then to a hundred dollars for deck passage, the passenger to "find himself" and sleep on the deck or upon the piles of lumber carried by nearly all the vessels. The exodus by sea continued all winter, and was supplemented by a large overland emigration, partly by pack trains, and partly by wagon. Business men became greatly alarmed, fearing that Oregon would be depopulated, that no laborers would be left to plow and sow, to hew timber, run saw and grist mills, or even to transport the products then in the country to market.

Yet some did remain, and these found their situations better in some respects than did many who went to California. Prices began to rise. The crop of 1848 was short, and wheat sold in Oregon City in August at sixty cents per bushel. Flour was at that time placed upon the vessels bound for San Francisco at five dollars and fifty cents to six dollars per barrel. By February it was bringing ten dollars in Oregon, and at San Francisco it paid a large profit on this price plus the charge of carriage, which had reached the enormous figure of five dollars per hundred weight. Lumber which sold in Oregon at twenty to twenty-five dollars per thousand feet, readily brought one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty-five dollars in San Francisco, and could afford to pay the rate of forty dollars per ton freight.

About midwinter, miners began to return to Oregon, many of them with sums of gold varying from one thousand to ten thousand dollars. The returning men bought freely, even lavishly, for their families; gold, instead of wheat, became the medium of exchange. No goods had been received direct from the East for a long time, and the Hudson's Bay Company being very short (their vessel was lost in 1848), supplies of groceries and other goods had to be brought up from San Francisco. While the country seemed shorn of laborers, in a large number of cases the crops were sown before their departure, and harvested a few months later on their return; so that Oregon raised a crop in the year 1849.

And everything the farmer had to sell brought good prices. Quantities of flour and lumber continued to be sent down to San Francisco in ships; but freights were so extravagantly high that it paid to carry even bulky articles overland. Flour, vegetables, fruit, pork, beef, butter, lard, and eggs, everything in the way of food stuffs, were sent South, and long lines of horses and mules, burdened with great loads, made a continual procession over the trail during the summer. Reaching first the mining districts most distant from San Francisco, their cargoes brought excessively high prices.

A truly remarkable period of prosperity set in, miners and farmers alike became well-to-do, and a large amount of capital was invested in improvements. Merchants built new and larger stores and warehouses; grist and saw mills were erected in many favorable places; steamboats were constructed to ply upon the Columbia and the Willamette, and efforts were made to improve the navigation of the last named stream above the falls. The primitive log house gave place to more pretentious frame structures, better barns and fences were built, more land opened, greater attention paid to roads and bridges. Schoolhouses and churches sprang up in large numbers. Meanwhile, population was increasing perhaps more rapidly than if no gold rush had occurred, for a large proportion of those who each spring joined the wagon trains on the Missouri frontier went directly to the Willamette and Puget Sound, where many of the advantages arising from California's rapid growth might be enjoyed without the hardships and dangers of life in the mines. Then, too, a goodly number of Eastern men came to Oregon by sea, for the purpose of participating in the commercial and professional opportunities existing there.

Portland, a thriving village at the head of ocean navigation on the Willamette, became during the gold rush the chief commercial centre of Oregon. It was begun in 1848, shortly before news of the discovery arrived, and soon became a serious rival of Oregon City as the place of lading

for ships. In a few years it had outstripped all competitors, and in 1860 counted a population of 2,768.

Puget Sound was but a colony in embryo when the tidings of gold came from the south. The men of that community were not independent, but most of them were in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, engaged in getting out shingles. Some left at once to go to the mines, and when these returned great changes began to appear near Budd's Inlet. The holders of claims erected dwellings, plowed and enclosed lands with a view to actual farming operations. This settlement reaped extraordinary benefits from the great demand for lumber in San Francisco. In the Sound region were magnificent forests, fringing the shore, and following all its windings even down to the tide mark. Good harbors being numerous, and streams falling into the inlets at frequent intervals, there was along this coast the best opportunity which the Oregon country presented of getting out lumber with cheapness and ease. The business began early in 1849 with a shipload of piles carried from Budd's Inlet by the brig *Orbit*. Small water-power saw mills were soon in operation at many ports, and the Sound entered definitely upon its distinctive industry—lumbering.

Samuel Hancock tells us that on one of his trips to San Francisco he found the people of that city anxious to know whether there was a possibility of finding good coal near Puget Sound. They were in sore straits for fuel, depending largely upon the coal ships which came round Cape Horn. Hancock himself began a search along the streams entering the Sound from the east, and with the help of the Indians found several promising outcrops. From this time, 1851, explorations were carried on until the rich deposits of Bellingham Bay and other points convenient to the Sound were known, when an extensive coal trade was developed to supplement the lumber business.

Much good farming land was discovered in Puyallup, White River, and other valleys, by those who explored the

country for coal or ranged over it as hunters, and the people of the Sound predicted a great agricultural future for their section. But the tide of emigration was to the Willamette, and the difficulty of reaching the Sound was so great as to deter most newcomers from the attempt. A few found their way up the Cowlitz to the "landing" in boats, and from there by the rough trail over the uplands to Budd's Inlet; but the population grew slowly. Those interested in the growth of the country argued that as all the first, second, and third class claims were already occupied on the Willamette, and new arrivals would be forced to take the less desirable lands, many emigrants would come to the Sound in preference if they could get there. The obvious need was a road from the Columbia at Fort Walla Walla up the Yakima Valley, across the Cascades and along one of the streams on the west side to tide-water. This plan was agitated very early, and in 1853 the road was actually opened as a community undertaking by means of subscriptions. Men were sent forward to the upper country, and when the emigrants of the year arrived at the Columbia thirty-five teams were induced to cross over and take the new highway to the Sound. The road was a very bad one and was rarely thereafter used for wagons. But a beginning was at last made in settling the newly opened river valleys, and the attractions of the region operated to bring in other emigrants in small numbers year by year. For some time, however, agriculture languished. Instead of raising grain for export, both seed wheat and flour were brought in, at great expense, from San Francisco, and paid for with lumber and piling.

Very early the people of Puget Sound came to a realization that their political destiny was distinct from that of the region south of the Columbia. The reason for this is undoubtedly to be found in the fact of their complete commercial independence, their exclusive trade with San Francisco, and the almost total lack of the means of communication with the Willamette. Legislators from the

Sound made the formidable trip to Oregon City annually, and bachelors from the north sometimes went to obtain helpmeets in the older settlement; but there was no general intercommunication between these sections. The same was true concerning Puget Sound and those other northern settlements which lay upon Columbia and Cowlitz Rivers. The latter were in close touch with the Willamette and saw little of the people of the Sound, who communicated with each other freely by means of boats manned by Indian crews, but rarely crossed "the divide." Olympia, Seattle (described in the early newspapers as "the fine town site" —at the "mouth of the Dewamish River"), Port Townsend, Cape Flattery, New Dungeness, all early milling centres, were in close touch, by water, with one another. Steilacoom had been made a military post subordinate to Vancouver post established in 1849. It also had its saw mill and was a calling place for boats. There was a farming settlement on Whidby's Island which was easily reached from all the other places. In the movement for a separate Territorial government it was these little villages on the Sound, scarcely to be dignified by the name of towns, whose people possessed common interests and were able to act as a unit, that forced the issue and carried out their programme in spite of some protests from the isolated settlers residing on the Cowlitz and on the north bank of the Columbia.

In September, 1852, a newspaper was begun at Olympia. Its name was *The Columbian*, which suggests that it expected to be the organ of a new Territory named Columbia, as *The Oregonian* represented the rest of the original Oregon country. The editors immediately took up the Territorial question and discussed it vigorously. It was argued that the north country never could attain its proper development under existing conditions. Congress neglected it, while pampering the Willamette valley; the Territorial legislature neglected its wants in the creation of counties, and in other matters. These were some of the grievances set forth in the early numbers of *The Columbian*. In connection with





John Ellis Wool.
Major-general, U. S. A.



William Branford Shubrick.
Commodore, U. S. N.



John Pope.
Major-general, U S. A.

these were prophecies concerning the future greatness of the Puget Sound country, and arguments to prove its superiority over the Columbia from a commercial point of view. The people were strongly urged to act at once on the Territorial question. The result of this agitation was a public meeting held at the residence of John R. Jackson, on the ridge between Cowlitz Landing and the Sound. It was resolved to urge every precinct and settlement in northern Oregon to send delegates to a convention, set for the last Thursday in November, at Cowlitz Landing (Monticello), for the purpose of praying Congress for a division of the Territory. Against some opposition from those living away from the Sound, the convention was held on November 25th. A memorial to Congress, prepared by Quincy A. Brooks, was adopted, with no dissenting voice, the majority known to be in favor being so large that the opposition refrained from voting. The memorial set forth that Oregon was too large to be successfully governed as a single Territory; it would have to be divided, and if this was done, the natural dividing line was Columbia River. It would not be fair, the memorialists said, to have the entire seacoast fall within the borders of one State, thus cutting the interior country off from the ocean. This was intended to anticipate the objection that Oregon might well remain under a single government until the interior should be settled, when a division could be effected along the line of the Cascade Mountains.

But there was to be no serious opposition to the project, for the Oregon legislature, sympathizing with the movement, adopted a similar memorial on January 15, 1853, and General Joe Lane, the delegate to Congress, about the same time introduced into the House of Representatives a bill for creating the Territory of Columbia. This measure was passed on February 10, 1853; but the name Columbia had been changed by amendment to Washington, a modification with which the people of the new territory were by no means displeased. The boundary on the south was to be

the Columbia and the forty-sixth parallel, extended to the crest of the Rockies, on the north the parallel of forty-nine degrees.

President Pierce, who came into power just after the creation of the new Territory, and also just after the appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the survey of Pacific railway routes, appointed Major Isaac Ingalls Stevens, commonly known under his later acquired title of general, as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for Washington, and also as director of the survey of the northern railway route. Stevens was a graduate of West Point, a soldier, an engineer, and a man of energy and resourcefulness. He had served in the Mexican War, and after its close had settled at Washington, where he was connected with the United States Coast Survey.

The gold rush not only had a vivifying effect upon the communities already established in the Northwest, but it led directly to the planting of new settlements, especially in the region known as southern Oregon. This country, the territory of Umpqua and Rogue Rivers, whose main branches rise in the Cascades and which reach the ocean by breaking through the Coast Range, had been superficially known for many years through the reports of trading and trapping parties, cattle drovers coming up from California, and restless pioneers passing back and forth over the trail that was gradually marked out between the Willamette and the Sacramento. In June, 1846, the Applegate company opened a wagon road which traversed the most delightful portions of both these valleys, and later in the same year a part of the emigration entered the Willamette by this route. Two years afterward began the gold rush, which caused a regular tide of travel through southern Oregon and across the Siskiyous. All were impressed with the charming scenery of the region, its rich natural meadows and beautiful streams.

A few individuals had already decided to seek homes in the Umpqua valley. Among these were Jesse Applegate,

his brothers, and Levi Scott, of the 1846 exploring expedition. Applegate tried to get a bill through the Territorial legislature authorizing a land company to make treaties with the Indians, there being as yet no regular machinery for dealing publicly with the native tribes; but in this he was unsuccessful. He had settled on the Umpqua in 1849 at a place which he named Yoncalla. There, at the foot of a beautiful knoll, he built his "great house," a nineteenth century "Shirley" or "Westover" reproduced on the Pacific frontier of the continent. Samuel Bowles and Schuyler Colfax paid him a visit in 1865 while on their way from San Francisco to Portland, marvelling and rejoicing to find such a man "here in the woods."

In the spring of 1850, Applegate, Scott, and several others organized a town site company and proceeded to explore the Umpqua for favorable locations. They descended to the mouth of the river, near which Scott had located his claim, presumably at the head of navigation, and founded Scottsburg. By a curious coincidence there was encountered at this point a party of San Francisco men who had entered the Umpqua by ship with the same general object in view. Though strangers to each other, these westerners, finding themselves in pursuit of a common object, immediately formed a combination which undertook the task of colonizing the Umpqua valley. A few additional town sites were located, some settlers were brought in, and miners overran the region; but the business affairs of the company did not prosper and it was soon dissolved. A new county called Umpqua, but covering the whole of southern Oregon, was organized in 1851.

By this time land seekers were examining the Rogue River valley where, in the last days of 1851, the California prospectors, who had long since reached the Siskiyous in their unceasing search for new diggings, discovered rich placer mines. The first of these were on Jackson Creek, a branch of the Rogue. Immediately there was a new gold rush. Californians poured in across the mountains from

the south, Oregonians hastened down from the north with pack trains, herds of cattle, and in some cases with their families, prepared to take up land and make homes as well as dig gold. Jacksonville, the site of the most important mines, quickly attained a population of five or six hundred, and several lesser camps were established in the neighborhood.

During the same period there was much activity along the coast and about the mouths of the southern Oregon rivers, miners expecting to discover gold-bearing sands on the sea beach. The finding of coal measures near the harbor of Coos Bay, the Indian disturbances of the next few years, and the operations of the national and volunteer troops, all contributed to the permanent settlement of the southern coast; while trails, opened along the rivers and over the Coast Range, connected those communities with the settlements on the upper courses of the rivers. Thus was opened up a vast region, which at the beginning of the gold rush was an absolute waste.

It soon became the home of several thousand white people, but there was to be a conflict for supremacy between the two races before southern Oregon was won for civilization. The Rogue River Indians had long been recognized as the fiercest, most desperate and treacherous natives of Oregon. Their record for murders and thefts was an evil one during the period which had elapsed since travellers first attempted to pass through their country. With the beginning of mining and settlement in the Rogue River valley, causes of complaint against them multiplied, though it must be confessed that the conduct of some of the miners was well calculated to arouse their animosity.

The so-called Rogue River War began in 1851. The Indians were quickly brought to terms by General Lane, but the peace he made was only temporary. During the five years from 1851 to 1856 there were constant dangers and alarms, many actual outbreaks, and some of the most distressing incidents in the entire history of American

frontier life. "Men were shot down on the highway or in the field; at dead of night, unprotected families were besieged in their cabins, the men killed outright, the women and children enslaved, and homes burned to the ground; sometimes whole settlements were either massacred or driven away." The struggle was not confined to the Rogue River valley, nor to the single tribe of Rogue River Indians; practically all the tribes of southern Oregon were on the war path at one time or another, and the settlers along the coast and on the Umpqua suffered with those of Rogue River.

Nor was the Indian war confined to southern Oregon, but became general through the Northwest in the decade under consideration. So long as the country had been wanted chiefly for its furs, the Indians had been the gainers from the white man's presence. The fur company sought to secure peace among the numerous tribes, and usually succeeded, and the trade made the natives comparatively prosperous. When agricultural settlers began to arrive, the situation changed. The farmer and stock raiser monopolized the soil, drove the game away, and reduced the profits of the beaver hunt. Still, although some of the tribes seriously objected to the colonizing movement which set in about 1840, the Hudson's Bay Company had them so thoroughly under control that so long as its authority lasted few outbreaks occurred.

After the formation of the Territorial government in 1849, the Indians came under the jurisdiction of the United States. This necessitated a complete readjustment of habits, and the formation of new attachments on the part of the natives. At the same time occurred the gold discovery, the arrival of many thousands of people by the overland trail through the Indian country, and the rapid advancement of the settled area of the country. The natural consequence was the growth of a feeling of hostility toward the white men, whom the Indians saw advancing upon them in greater numbers from year to year.

The Puget Sound Indians had begun to murder the whites as early as 1850. In some cases the culprits were apprehended and punished; but punishment was rendered difficult by the injustice and cruelty of irresponsible white men. It was evident that the time had come for an adjustment of the Indian relations of the entire Northwest.

Governor Stevens clearly saw this necessity and he had taken pains on his exploring expedition to gather all possible information concerning the tribes of the eastern country; he had sent agents to prepare them for treaty conferences, and in some cases had met their representatives for a talk. Shortly after inaugurating the government at Olympia he began a series of treaty conferences with the tribes living about the Sound. His policy was to purchase of each a portion of its lands, leaving to the Indians what seemed necessary for their subsistence under the new conditions that the government proposed for them. He pursued his difficult task with energy, and secured treaties with all the tribes within a few months.

In the upper country were fourteen thousand Indians, belonging to ten great and powerful tribes, stretching over hundreds of miles from the springs of the Yakima to those of Clark's Fork. Governor Stevens entered this country in the spring of 1855, gathered the natives of the prairies in great councils, the chief of which was held at the spot where the city of Walla Walla now stands, and in an incredibly short time he had succeeded in making treaties with them all. He marked out at this time the Yakima, Umatilla, Nez Percés, Pend d'Oreille, and Flathead reservations, which were to provide hunting and grazing lands for most of the tribes.

It seemed as if the troublesome Indian question was about to be settled, for treaties were being made in Oregon about the same time and according to the same reservation policy. But these efforts served to precipitate the most desperate war ever carried on by red men against white on the Pacific coast. The treaties cannot be regarded as the

cause, but probably were the occasion of the outbreak. Governor Stevens has been blamed by some for the manner in which he imposed his own ideas upon the tribes. It has been charged that he prepared the treaties in his own office, marking the boundaries of reservations on the map to suit his own fancy, and, when the council met, forced the natives to accept his programme, even going to the length of employing forgery to secure the signatures of recalcitrant chiefs. The reservations, so it is claimed, were sometimes insufficient, and often included worthless tracts of land; while the compensation for territory surrendered by the Indians bore no proper relation to its extent and value. But it was not the manner of obtaining the treaties, but the fact that they were secured, which produced such serious trouble among the natives. To yield their lands was a confession of weakness on the part of the tribes. The prospects of life on a limited territory, when they had been accustomed to a great one, were not satisfactory. Momentarily, the hope of a large money reward from the government might allure them, but sooner or later the realization would come that they were selling their birthright and preparing for a future of weakness and decay.

The course of events which brought the struggle to a climax was the usual one. A few powerful chiefs, headed by Kami-ah-kan of the Yakimas, were dissatisfied with the treaties. Their influence produced a general unrest among the tribes. Murders of white men took place, and the Indians formed themselves into a confederation, including tribes from the Rockies to the coast. Their purpose was soon made evident by attacks upon the settlements. On White River the inhabitants were either massacred or driven from their homes; the village of Seattle was attacked in the spring of 1856 and was saved from destruction by the presence of armed boats in the bay; a massacre occurred at the Cascades, and another, one of the most horrible in history, upon Malheur River, the victims being a company of unprotected emigrants.

When the war began the northern territory was so nearly defenceless that many residents were bent on flight. But Governor Stevens succeeded in imparting to the community a portion of his own fighting spirit, and by taking vigorous measures in conjunction with the legislature he succeeded in providing means of defence without waiting on the dilatory commander of the government forces in the Pacific division. Volunteer troops were raised in Oregon as well as in Washington; blockhouses were built in large numbers for the defence of the northern frontier; the enemy was hunted out and attacked wherever he could be found. The people of the Northwest determined that this should be the last important Indian war, and that the natives must submit to being placed upon the reservations. No doubt many believed that it would be cheaper to exterminate them, and some of the frontiersmen did not hesitate to scalp their red victims, after the manner of the Indian fighters of the olden time, some of whom were their ancestors. Pat Kanim, a Puget Sound chief, who remained a friend of the whites, made desperate raids upon his red enemies, and it is declared took basketfuls of heads to Olympia under an agreement with the government, which gave him a stipulated price for each. It must be recalled in extenuation of the method of the whites that the war possessed an awful significance to the people of the Northwest. It was their King Philip's War—a fight to the death between the native occupants of the soil, goaded to madness at the sight of the white man's progress, and the settler who proposed to hold the land for civilization as against barbarism.

At the beginning of the war a violent dispute arose between Governor Stevens and General Wool, the commander of the Pacific division of the United States army. Wool took the ground that the settlers themselves had precipitated the conflict with the understanding that the Indians were to be exterminated. Although there were very few troops in the Northwest he took no steps to strengthen the

defences. This was one of the unfortunate circumstances against which the people had to struggle. In time, however, the regular troops performed very important services. Vancouver was the principal post at the beginning of the war, with a smaller one at Steilacoom on the Sound and another at the Dalles. Afterward posts were established at Walla Walla and on Yakima River.

The conflict was practically closed in 1858, though it was not until the next year that the treaties were approved by the national government and the actual work of placing the tribes on the reservations began. The Northwest was saved, though not without a great sacrifice in lives and in treasure.

During the period of the Indian wars Oregon was the scene of much political agitation centring about the question of statehood. Many believed that the Territory should be admitted to the Union, and General Lane, the delegate in Congress, undertook to champion the project. He introduced a bill in 1856 which failed to pass. The next year a second measure was brought up which passed the House, but failed in the Senate. However, the Territorial legislature had submitted the question to the people at the June election of 1857, with the result that delegates were chosen by the several counties to a State constitutional convention. On the third Monday of August the convention met at Salem, and on the 18th of September adopted a constitution. On being submitted to the people in November the document was ratified by a large majority, seven thousand one hundred and ninety-five voting in favor, and only three thousand one hundred and ninety-five against. The State government went into operation in July, 1858, although the action of Congress admitting Oregon into the Union was delayed by the injection of the slavery question until February 14, 1859. General Lane and Delazon Smith were the first senators, and Lafayette Grover the first representative of the State in the lower house of Congress.

In 1860, Oregon had a population of fifty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-five, many of them recent immigrants. Like the Californians, its people became intensely disturbed by the slavery question as it was presented to them in the presidential campaign of 1860. There, also, the old Democracy was defeated, Lincoln receiving a plurality, though not a majority, of the votes cast. Lane was the vice-presidential candidate on the pro-slavery ticket with Breckinridge, and when the war came he cast in his lot with the Confederacy, a step which effectually terminated his career in Oregon politics. He afterward lived in retirement in Douglas County for many years, dying at Roseburg, in 1881, at the age of eighty. He had done much for Oregon in the early time, and, as the bitterness of the Civil War spirit disappears, his rightful place in Northwestern history is gradually being conceded to him.

General Stevens also disappears from history in the early days of the war, though under very different circumstances. He was the delegate in Congress for the twelve thousand people of Washington Territory, having served in that station since 1857. When the struggle began, he offered his services to President Lincoln, and was given a commission as colonel. He was soon promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and finally to that of major-general. While gallantly leading his forces to victory on the field of Chantilly, September 1, 1862, he was struck on the temple by a musket ball, and died instantly. His loss was a severe blow to the Union cause, and he was deeply regretted in the Northwest, where his labors had borne such fruit for civilization and progress.

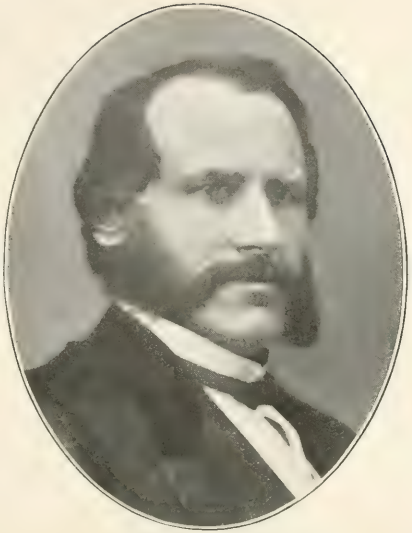
It may be remarked in closing that the entire Pacific Slope, from San Diego to the British boundary, was loyal to the core. California sent several regiments to the front, and gave to the country a number of able leaders, among them General Hooker; Oregon raised a regiment that was employed in garrisoning the Northwest, thus allowing other troops to take their place in the line of battle, and

Washington also raised troops among her handful of settlers. The most distinguished officer sent east by Oregon was Colonel E. D. Baker, the renowned orator, who secured election to the United States Senate in 1860, and on the call for troops raised a regiment in Pennsylvania which he led to the field. He fell at the battle of Ball's Bluff (October 21, 1861).





John White Geary.
First postmaster and first mayor of San Francisco.



George Henry Williams.
United States Senator from Oregon, and United States Attorney-general under President Grant.



David Colbreth Broderick.
United States Senator from California.

From photographs in the collection of the author and in the Hall of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

CHAPTER XX

EXPANSION EASTWARD

The Pacific Northwest is the land of the Columbia River system. The geographical complexity of the region is a matter more apparent than real. For, aside from the small district about Puget Sound, the narrow belt between the Coast Mountains and the Pacific, and the territory drained by the southern Oregon rivers, all parts of this vast domain have a definite physical relation to the Columbia. This river, the greatest west of the Rocky Mountains and second only to the Mississippi among eastern streams, possesses in some respects a unique character. Taking their rise in widely separated springs of the Rockies, its branches flow together in the great interior plain whence, rolling westward with tremendous volume, the river forces its way through the Cascades and eventually pours its flood into the Pacific Ocean. Its total watershed is approximately two hundred and forty-five thousand square miles, about two hundred thousand of which lie between the Rockies and the Cascades within the parallels of forty-two and forty-nine degrees.

This vast region, so nearly shut off from, yet so perfectly connected with western Oregon and Washington, has long been appropriately known as the Inland Empire. It is larger by nearly one-fourth than the New England States, New York and New Jersey combined. Two masses of mountains, the Bitterroot range in the north and the Blue

Mountains in the south, occupy a portion of the space between the Rockies and the Cascades. For the rest, it is a country of great plains and gentle hills. It differs much in climate from the territory to the west, being hotter in summer and colder in winter; it is similar in many ways to the great plains east of the Rockies.

The soil and productions of the Inland Empire were for years the subject of controversy. Many early travellers, noting the lightness of the soil and the scarcity of rainfall, as well as the absence of timber on the prairies and the shortness of the grass, predicted that only a very few spots would prove to be adapted to agriculture. Such ideas were constantly reiterated in the Congressional discussions on the Oregon question in the period prior to 1843; and even in that year the debate on the Linn Bill called out from one senator a general condemnation of the interior country. Greeley declared about the same time in the New York *Tribune* that "all the land in Oregon susceptible of advantageous cultivation is not equal in fertility or extent to that of the State of New York alone." This was based upon the theory, supported by Farnham's book, that the whole interior was a desert, "with scarcely good soil enough to qualify that designation." This unfavorable impression disappeared very gradually. The Hudson's Bay Company cultivated garden spots at some of their trading posts, and kept a few cattle in the upper country, thus testing the quality of the grasses. Doctor Parker, the missionary pioneer, was convinced of the agricultural possibilities of the Walla Walla Valley, where he selected a mission site. When Whitman and Spalding settled at Waiilatpu and Lapwai they demonstrated that the most bounteous crops of grain and vegetables could be raised on this light soil by means of irrigation, and that excellent crops of wheat could be produced with no artificial watering. The explanation of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the soil is a deep, practically inexhaustible bed of volcanic ash, on which fifteen inches of rainfall produces effects quite as wonderful as

would thirty inches on an ordinary clay soil. The upland grasses, although they grow during a short period, drying and curing early in the summer, were found to be marvellously nutritious, furnishing abundant feed throughout the year to grazing animals. "The interior of Oregon," wrote Dr. Whitman in the fall of 1847, just before his death, "is unrivalled by any country for the grazing of stock, of which sheep is the best. This interior will now be sought after."

Whitman was right in assuming that emigrants would soon desire to take up lands in that country. Indeed, the fear that those stopping at the mission intended to do this, was one of the causes of the Cayuse outbreak that resulted in the massacre. This episode of course cleared the country of all white men except the traders, but it brought in companies of Oregon soldiers, many of whom desired to preëmpt the valuable lands which the natives were supposed to have forfeited. However, the California gold rush, and later the restlessness of the Indians all over the Northwest, kept the interior practically unoccupied except about the military post at the Dalles, where a few white settlers established themselves as early as 1850.

Meantime, more accurate information was secured concerning the character of the Inland Empire through the railway exploration of General Stevens. That officer coveted the opportunity to traverse the country in order that he might examine its fitness for settlement and report to his constituents on Puget Sound, very few of whom knew anything about the great region which was included within their Territorial limits. On his arrival at Olympia he delivered an address to the inhabitants, in the course of which he announced that several immense stretches of the eastern country promised to be exceptionally fruitful. "I can speak advisedly," he says, "of the beautiful St. Mary's Valley just west of the Rocky Mountains and stretching across the whole breadth of the Territory; of the plain fifty miles wide bordering the south bank of Spokane River; of the valley

extending from Spokane River to Colville; of the Cœur d'Elene Prairie of six hundred square miles; the Walla Walla Valley. The Nez Percés country is said to be rich as well as the country bordering on the Yakima River."

Had the treaties of 1855 resulted in settling the Indian question, emigrants would no doubt have taken claims in many sections of Washington and Oregon during the next few years. The war prevented this, yet, as in all conflicts of the kind, it ultimately helped forward the movement of colonization by familiarizing large numbers of men with the geography and resources of the country. Some of the volunteers were practical miners, trained in California or southern Oregon, who kept a sharp lookout for "prospects," some of which had been located in the interior before the war broke out, but could not then be worked. But instead of the Inland Empire, Fraser River in British Columbia was the centre of the gold rush during the closing years of the Indian war. Oregon and Washington men went thither to gather gold or to carry supplies to the miners. This excitement, however, decreased in 1858. Many being disappointed in the results obtained, the regulations applied to the diggings proving burdensome, and the Indian war having by this time been concluded, the returning miners spread over and prospected immense areas of the Inland Empire, making discoveries which proved only less wonderful than those made in California a few years earlier. Mines were opened at Colville, which was on the return route from Frazer River; on the Clearwater several very rich diggings were opened, the famous Oro Fino and Oro Grande lying in this district; soon the prospectors reported discoveries on Salmon River, then on the Boise, the John Day, Burnt River, Powder River, and Owyhee; and in the north they found gold on the Kootenai, the Deer Lodge, the Beaver Head, and the Prickly Pear. There was hardly an affluent of the Columbia which did not bring down from the Rockies, the Blue Mountains, the Bitterroot, or the Cascades the gold-bearing sands.

Eastward expansion, so long delayed by a variety of obstacles, then proceeded at a remarkable pace. Within three years most of the rivers had been prospected to their sources, and many mining villages or camps arose all through the region. Sometimes these grew in a couple of months to places of a thousand or even two thousand inhabitants. Many of them remained as the bases of modern towns; but many others, unfortunate perhaps in their water supply, or in their neighborhood to richer discoveries, flourished for a day and then disappeared as quickly as they had come. Life in the camps was in many respects the same as in California, although more normal, the miners being nearly all Americans who had experience in self-government. A large proportion of the miners were Californians, who drifted northward by the trail and by ship much as the Oregonians had gone south during the years 1848 to 1850. In the space of a few years these westerners had reached the crest of the Rockies where they encountered other thousands coming up from the east.

Until the time of this new gold rush the inhabitants of the Willamette valley had been accustomed to seeing all pack-trains head for the south. Then they turned toward the northeast, following in the wake of the new movement. They carried miners with their outfits to the camps located in every part of the Inland Empire; they transported great quantities of bacon, flour, and whiskey, the staples of the mining trade; also picks, shovels, pans, quicksilver, and many other articles. The packs varied in weight from two hundred to four hundred pounds, and the number of horses or mules employed ranged all the way from ten to more than a hundred to the train. At first many of these cargoes were carried direct from the Willamette valley, but after the boats began running regularly from Portland to the interior, most of the packers loaded at points on the river.

Walla Walla, where a town had rapidly grown up about the military post, was the chief centre of the packing interest. Goods landed at Wallula were transported in wagons

to this place, and thence sent out in all directions, frequently to the distance of three hundred miles north and south, and a much greater distance east. It had rivals in the Dalles and Umatilla; but while these towns sent goods to a few localities like the John Day valley, Powder River, the Owyhee, and some of the Idaho camps, Walla Walla competed for the trade of these places and also sent to Colville, Kootenai, Salmon River, the Clearwater, the Prickly Pear, and the most distant camps of the Rocky Mountains. Many trails radiated from this town, and during the packing season all were animated by the long lines of horses and mules regularly coming and going upon them.

The packers often belonged to the most enterprising class of young men that the country contained, and, being so numerous at Walla Walla and Wallula, they formed a social element of considerable importance. Their "packer's ball" was an important social event. On one of these occasions the hosts had decorated the hall with a significant series of pictures. One represented a pack train wending its way slowly along the narrow trail; another exhibited the fine river steamer of the Oregon Navigation Company; and a third,—the prophecy of the future,—a puffing engine drawing a train of cars over a well-laid track. Some of the very men who during the sixties were engaged in packing were ten years later prominent merchants and bankers, with positions in the business world enabling them to promote the railroad development for which the country was calling.

The Oregon Steam Navigation Company was an association of Portland business men whose aim at the outset seems to have been the development of steam navigation on the Willamette. When the rush to the Inland Empire began, in 1861, they turned their attention to the trade of that region. The navigation of the Columbia is obstructed at several points, like the Cascades, the Dalles, and Priest's Rapids; the obstacles serve to break the river into sections. It is only by building boats upon each of the navigable sections, aggregating for the river and its branches more

than two thousand miles of navigable waters, that this great highway of commerce could be fully utilized. The company began running boats from Portland to the Cascades, about fifty miles. The five-mile obstruction at that point was overcome by means of a portage railway, at the upper end of which the traveller took the second boat and rode to the Dalles, forty-five miles further. Here another portage road, fifteen miles in length, took him to a point above the Great Falls at Celilo, where a third steamer waited to carry him to Umatilla, to Wallula, or to Snake River. In time, the company placed boats yet further up the river, on both of its great branches. By the North Fork, it was possible to carry goods mainly by boat, although in part by wagon, as far as Lake Pend d'Oreille; by Snake River, the steamers ascended to the Owyhee and the Boise Basin mining districts.

The extraordinary development of Columbia navigation here indicated was due in part to competition from the eastern side of the mountains. Mines were first opened in the western part of what is now Montana in 1862. Soon other discoveries were made, some near the summit, others on the eastern slope of the Rockies. Fortunately for the westerners, a military road had been opened by Captain Mullan, of the Stevens exploring party, in the years 1859 to 1862, which connected Fort Walla Walla with Fort Benton on the Missouri. It followed essentially the line of the present Northern Pacific Railway, thus giving access to the Montana mines by means of pack trains. The merchants of St. Louis, conceiving that the trade of this region properly belonged to them, sent up large numbers of small light-draught steamboats during the open season on the Missouri, and filled huge warehouses with goods to supply the mining region during the long closed season. When it was found that the eastern merchants could undersell the Walla Walla packers at Helena, the Navigation Company made every exertion to reach the upper Columbia; and there were vigorous appeals for the improvement of the Mullan

road, a project in which Congress as well as all the western States and Territories became interested. Finally, this route was made a good wagon road, over which teamsters, with great wagons drawn by twelve or sixteen mules, carried merchandise to Montana from the upper steamboat landings, and to some extent even from Walla Walla.

This Montana trade was regarded, about 1865 to 1867, as the most important which the mountain region afforded. It was even contended for by San Francisco, whose partial railroad facilities made it possible to send goods across the Sierras, through Nevada and north from the Salt Lake region, at rates which left a margin of profit. San Francisco tried, also, to make use of Columbia River, but found the handicap presented by the Navigation Company too heavy and finally abandoned the field. At last the bulk of the Montana trade went to the Mississippi valley, but for a long time the rivalry between the Missouri and Columbia routes was keen.

The career of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company makes a good summary of the trade development of the Inland Empire. At the date of organization it is said to have had a property worth one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, consisting principally of a few small river steamers. In 1865, it owned eighteen or twenty first-class boats, two portage railroads, large warehouses at all landings, several town sites, with other property aggregating in value over two million dollars, "all earned from their business." Meantime it had paid dividends amounting to three hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars. The freight carried to the upper country during the four years 1861 to 1864, inclusive, was reckoned at sixty thousand three hundred and twenty tons, and the number of passengers at one hundred thousand. The volume of both the freight and passenger business had increased progressively from the first year to the last. Before the end of the decade the down freight had grown to large proportions also. Occasionally an independent line of steamers was put on the river, but

by controlling the portages the company maintained a practical monopoly.

One of the incidental results of the eastern expansion was the rapid growth of the city of Portland. It had already gained an impetus as the commercial port of the lower Columbia during the California gold rush, for it stood as the intermediary between the farming population of the Willamette valley and the market at San Francisco. The up-river trade vastly increased its importance. The food stuffs and manufactures shipped up the river were paid for in gold dust, which was transshipped from Portland to the value of many millions of dollars. Dominated by men of sound and conservative business principles, the city built up steadily and solidly, and by 1865 it contained about seven thousand inhabitants. It was so orderly and respectable as to attract the special attention of eastern visitors. One of them, after travelling across the continent to San Francisco, and thence overland to Portland, remarked of its people: "They keep Sunday as we do in New England; and as no other population this side the Missouri now does; . . . altogether Portland has the air and the fact of a prosperous, energetic town, with a good deal of eastern leadership and tone to business and society and morals."

The second town in Oregon was The Dalles, which may be called purely a creation of the new expansion movement. It was a rough, hurly-burly mining supply centre, with a fluctuating population which averaged in 1865 about two thousand. It certainly did not keep Sunday as they did in New England, for the good Dr. Condon who began missionary preaching in the courthouse on a Sabbath day in 1861, found the hubbub of the street so overwhelming that he could not hear his own prayer; and but for the intervention of the sheriff, who decided to "see that the preacher had fair play," services must have been discontinued. Great improvement had been made in the tone of society before 1865, yet certain elements of disorder remained strongly intrenched for a long time.

Walla Walla quickly distanced all the towns on the Sound, ranking from the early sixties as the first town in Washington Territory, a position which it held for at least twenty years. It contained a large number of enterprising business men and became a centre of capitalistic influence. The intellectual and moral interests of the place received much attention, considering the circumstances.

From the beginning of the migration toward the interior the most favorable portions of the country were eagerly sought after by those wishing to engage in agriculture or stock raising. The rapid progress of mining stimulated this movement, so that in spite of the long delay in beginning the settlement of the Inland Empire, a farming population finally spread over its fertile valleys and plains much more rapidly than would have been the case if no gold rush had occurred. The first district to be occupied was the Walla Walla valley, where the presence of the United States military post afforded a home market for produce and where the lands were not only fertile, but easily tilled, comparatively well watered, and conveniently near to Columbia River and the lower settlements. It will be remembered that this valley was about to be occupied in 1847, when the Whitman massacre suddenly drove all whites west of the Cascades. A few pioneers held claims there at the outbreak of the later Indian war, but these had to be abandoned. When the treaties were completed in 1859 many persons were ready to take up lands in the country, and the emigration of that year from the East furnished, according to the newspapers, several hundred settlers. In 1860, Walla Walla County had thirteen hundred white people, and within the next six years the government surveyed about seven hundred and fifty thousand acres of land in the valley, most of which was immediately taken up for agricultural purposes. The chief crop was wheat, which yielded at the rate of forty to fifty bushels, and which was turned into flour for export to the numerous mining camps supplied from this centre. In 1865, the amount thus sent out was seven thousand

barrels. Other products, like hay, onions, potatoes, and wool were shipped down the river. In 1870, Walla Walla County had five thousand one hundred and seventy-four inhabitants. By that time the valley was fairly well settled, containing many beautiful farms, with comfortable and even handsome dwellings surrounded by gardens, fruit orchards, and ornamental trees. Emigrants desiring to take lands in this neighborhood went north to the Palouse valley or south toward the Umatilla.

For many years the emigrants to Oregon had passed with regret the beautiful valley of the Grand Ronde. After all danger from the natives had been removed and the Walla Walla country was partly filled up, settlers began to take claims in this attractive region, notwithstanding its great distance from the sea. A few were left there by the emigration of 1861; but it was the great company of 1862 which finally occupied the country. About two thousand of these, so the newspapers of the time declared, remained in the valley, while the remainder, perhaps eight thousand, went on down the Columbia. The first winter was one of many privations; but the next summer the settlers raised a crop which furnished an abundance of provisions. La Grande was the principal town and soon became the county seat of Union County, which included the Grand Ronde within its boundaries. From the first it was a place of considerable importance, being the supply centre for the valley until other towns, like Union, Summerville, and Oro Dell, divided the territory. A wagon road built in 1863 connected the Grand Ronde valley with Walla Walla for trading purposes; other roads and trails made it possible for this upper settlement to send its products to the mines of Boise Basin, Owyhee, and other places. The abundance of timber on the slopes of the Blue Mountains and the fine water power of the mountain streams promoted the building of saw mills, of which there were four in 1864. A description of the valley written in the spring of 1868 indicates that excellent progress had been made in the first five years after the settlement

began. "The waste prairie has changed to fenced and cultivated farms, and in all directions the handiwork of intelligence and industry is visible. Comfortable houses and barns have been built, orchards planted, from the poor emigrant has sprung the well-to-do farmer." County roads crossed the valley in all directions, while two good toll roads had been built through it. The population of Union County in 1870 was 2,552.

These two illustrations of the Walla Walla and Grand Ronde valleys are sufficient to show how population spread over the fine farming districts of the Inland Empire during the years immediately following the gold rush to this region. Many other districts had a similar history. Boise Valley, Powder River, the Clearwater and Spokane, the high valleys of western Montana, all had their farming communities, producing such supplies as the mining camps could use. The Yakima Valley east of the Columbia was in a situation similar to the Walla Walla, and was settled about the same time. By 1870, the amount of produce seeking a market from the upper Columbia had become larger than the demand to be supplied in that country, although only a small part of the tillable lands had been taken up. The people needed better means of transportation in order that they might ship their wheat and flour down the river to a larger and more stable market. The entire inland country waited impatiently for railroads to connect its scattered communities, and to afford the much desired outlet to the sea.

CHAPTER XXI

BEGINNINGS OF THE RAILROAD AGE

THE project of a railroad to the Pacific was broached almost as soon as Americans settled in that western country. In 1823, Floyd had conceived of a communication by steamboat and wagon between the mouth of the Missouri and the mouth of the Columbia. When railways became an assured success in the United States, it was an easy transition from the wagon road of the Virginian's fancy to an iron track between the upper limits of navigation on the two great rivers. In 1836, Levi Beardsley, speaking in the New York Senate on a bill for completing the New York and Erie Railroad, said: "Is it extravagant to believe that before another thirty-six years expire we shall not only have an organized State government beyond the Rocky Mountains, with important commercial cities, but a steamboat and railroad communication from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia River? . . . With railroad and steamboat communication from New York to St. Louis, and from thence to the Columbia River, the whole distance may be traversed in twenty days, and thus open a direct communication with China."

A similar conception is contained in the letter of a New York man writing in January, 1839, to a member of Congress. "Figure to yourself," he said, "a large city near the mouth of the Columbia, with a railway across the mountains, and a canal around the falls and rapids." . . . About

the same time it was reported that the citizens of Dubuque, Iowa, were actively engaged in promoting the plan of a railroad to Oregon, a plan which the *Oregonian*, of Lynn, Massachusetts, ridiculed as a "Jack-and-the-bean-stalk" enterprise. The editor would as soon hope to visit the Lunarians by the bean-vine route, as to visit the Pacific, riding in a train of cars. It would cost from thirty to fifty millions to build a road over that distance, even if its construction were a possibility, which was doubtful; besides it would be dangerous to run cars through the Indian country!

Several years passed before the man came who undertook to bring the Pacific railway project out of the region of theory into the domain of practical reality. This man was Asa Whitney. He conceived the idea, partly through extensive travel in the Orient, that the establishment of a transcontinental railway, by which the Chinese trade could be controlled from this country, would give the United States a marvellous commercial advantage over European countries; and he expected that those controlling the railway communication with the Pacific would be the chief beneficiaries of the new development of wealth through this means. Whitney devised a scheme by which the means for constructing the road would be liberated, so to speak, by the process of construction itself. His plan was to secure from the United States government the grant of a belt of land sixty miles wide, stretching from Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Columbia, or to Puget Sound. The salable portion of the lands he would place upon the market, and with the proceeds build the first section of the road from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. As the process of construction proceeded, other lands would be brought within the ever widening circle of demand, and thus there would be abundant means to carry it forward to the Pacific.

This project was launched as early as 1843, and Whitney tried, by means of pamphlets, public addresses, and other means to develop sentiment in its favor before appealing to Congress. He succeeded in creating considerable interest

in some of the eastern cities, although New York held out stubbornly against him for some time. "If I can get the grant of lands," said Whitney, "I can build the road. In a few months after the grant the work shall be commenced and far sooner than I have dared to hope it can be completed, when we shall have the whole world tributary to us—when the commerce of the whole world shall be tumbled into our lap." He appealed especially to the middle western States and Territories, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, as constituting the section of the United States which was to profit most from the enterprise. These States, he declared, would be "not only the grand centre of our vast confederacy, but the centre of the vast globe—the grand thoroughfare of all the world being through them."

In the summer of 1845, Whitney, with a small party of young men, made a trip from Milwaukee westward as far as the Missouri. He was charmed with all he saw, became more than ever convinced that his project was feasible, and determined to push it through Congress at the next session. He feared that if it failed to pass at that time it would be doomed; for both Wisconsin and Iowa Territories were expected to become States, in which case the question of building a road through their territory, and also that of the Congressional land grant, would be complicated with jurisdictional and other questions.

Douglas, of Illinois, replying to a letter of the projector, outlined an interesting scheme of his own. He proposed that the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon should be at once organized; that Congress should grant to them and to Iowa Territory—these being the three Territories through which the road would mainly lie—alternate sections of land for a reasonable distance on each side of the proposed line, which should be surveyed at once; that these grants should be made on the distinct condition that the proceeds should be used in the building of the road. The States and Territories concerned were to adopt such plans as they might see

fit for its construction. They might make it a work to be owned and controlled by the State in its corporate capacity, or they might incorporate companies which were to operate under the laws and regulations of the States.

Whitney's scheme came before Congress and was favorably considered by the Senate committee, but did not pass. A rival project had been brought forward by George Wilkes, of New York, who early in 1845 issued a pamphlet under the title of *A History of Oregon*. Wilkes's plan was to build a national road, with money to be appropriated by Congress, the expectation being that the lands adjacent to the survey would immediately become salable and that the sale of a small portion of these would place a sufficient sum at the disposal of the government for constructing it, thus saving to the people a vast body of valuable lands. The work was to begin at the Mississippi, to follow the Missouri, the Platte and Sweetwater, cross South Pass, and reach the Columbia on the line of the emigrant trail to Oregon; thence it was to be carried over the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound, the contemplated western terminus. Whitney proposed the mouth of the Columbia or Puget Sound as the terminus of his road, but his views were sufficiently elastic to admit of the substitution of San Francisco Bay.

The struggle between the rival plans of Whitney and Wilkes was so earnest, and the support received by them so nearly balanced, as to prevent either from receiving the approval of Congress. It did, however, precipitate a vast amount of Pacific railway discussion; it evoked resolutions from State and Territorial legislatures, induced the holding of a significant series of railway conventions, distributed over several years, and promoted many private schemes of railway construction. In the course of this agitation, the need of preliminary surveys of routes became evident, and the next step of great importance was the passage of a law, March 3, 1853, for surveying several contemplated lines, all more or less familiar through the explorations of Lewis and Clark, Pike, Long, and Frémont, the reports of Oregon



Joseph Hooker.
Superintendent of military roads in Oregon.



and California pioneers, and of the army officers who had participated in the campaigns against New Mexico and California. Much discretion was left to the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi.

Davis decided upon the examination of four main routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Of these, the most northerly was to run near the heads of the Missouri, the second near the forty-first and forty-second parallels, through South Pass, the third near the thirty-eighth and the thirty-ninth parallels, the fourth near the thirty-second parallel. Governor Stevens was commissioned to explore the northern route; the second was examined by Colonel Frémont, Captain Stansbury, and Lieutenant Beckwith; the third, by Captain Gunnison; and the fourth, by Lieutenant Whipple, Captain John Pope, Lieutenant Parke, Major Emory, and Lieutenant Williamson. The last party was to include in its examination the route from the Colorado to San Francisco Bay.

These surveys, when completed, as they were within about two years, indicated the practicability of three lines, by the northern, southern, and South Pass routes, respectively. In summarizing the reports of the exploring parties, Secretary Davis concluded that the southernmost of the three was "the most practicable and economical route for a railway from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean. . . . Not only is this the shortest and least costly route to the Pacific," he said, "but it is the shortest and cheapest route to San Francisco, the greatest commercial city on our western coast."

In reaching this conclusion, Davis was undoubtedly actuated to some extent—perhaps unconsciously—by a desire to benefit his own section, which was clamorous to have the eastern terminus of the Pacific railway near the mouth of the Mississippi. He unjustly discriminated against the northern route, surveyed by Governor Stevens. He minimized its advantages, especially in the matter of the large areas of fertile territory it was reported to contain,

exaggerated its obstacles, and even arbitrarily increased by nearly thirty-eight million dollars the estimated cost of constructing a railroad over this route, in order to defeat its chances of favorable consideration. Stevens, however, was not a man to abandon an undertaking, and he contended that the northern route possessed decided advantages over all others.

In this way the problem of a Pacific railway became a sectional and political question, as troublesome as that of slavery in the Territories, with which it was more or less closely connected. At no time prior to the outbreak of the Civil War was there an opportunity to reach an adjustment of the difficulty. Governor Stevens advocated the building of three roads, one by each of the practicable routes and called respectively the Southern, Central, and Northern Pacific Railways. When the great conflict came, however, and the Southern members withdrew from Congress, the time for action had manifestly arrived. The national defence against natives and foreigners, the strengthening of the bonds of union with the communities on the Pacific, and the development of the national resources in order to meet this crisis of the nation's history, furnished new motives. The temporary contraction of the Union by the cutting off of the belt of Southern slave States made it possible for Congress to agree upon a route, and on the 1st of July, 1862, a bill was approved by President Lincoln "to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes." By this act the Union Pacific Railroad Company was organized, with a capital stock of one hundred million dollars, divided into one hundred thousand shares. The company was to receive a subsidy in land, to the extent of five alternate sections per mile on each side of the proposed line, and in United States bonds (bearing six per cent) of the par value of sixteen thousand dollars per mile. This provision was modified later, to the advantage

of the two companies, the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, which ultimately achieved the construction of the several sections of the road.

The entrance of the last-named company was significant. In California, railroad agitation had been a feature of the entire period since the creation of the State government. Many projects were launched unsuccessfully; yet everybody looked forward with confidence to the time when a railroad should span the continent. A road already connected the Atlantic and Pacific at the Isthmus of Panama; but it was owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which made full use of its monopoly; the route was long, tedious, and expensive, and the service not at all adequate to the needs of the State. In order to facilitate the transmission of mails the "Pony Express" had been organized, which carried from the Missouri to Denver, Salt Lake, and San Francisco. A little later, a line of overland stages covered the same general routes, the companies building excellent roads over the Sierras by which a large amount of freight was teamed into Nevada, and even to the mines of the Inland Empire.

All this, however, was only a temporary makeshift, and not in any sense a solution of the great transportation problem. In 1861, a company was organized, known as the Central Pacific Railroad Company, for the construction of a road from Sacramento to the eastern base of the Sierra Mountains. At its head stood Governor Leland Stanford, while closely associated with him were Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and T. D. Judah. The last named was an enthusiastic engineer who had previously surveyed all practicable routes through the Sierras, and had fixed upon the one by Donner Lake Pass as being the most feasible. Judah spent the winter of 1861–1862 in Washington, and exerted a powerful influence in securing the passage of the Pacific Railroad bill, by which, as finally constituted, his company was to receive the subsidy for building the western portion of the road.

Now began the actual construction from both ends of the line. The Central Pacific commenced first, breaking ground at Sacramento on Washington's birthday, 1863, reaching northeastward forty-four miles by July, 1865, and clearing the Sierras in the fall of 1867. The other company began active operations in 1865, and built forward across the plains from Omaha with great rapidity. Congress had meantime given authority to the Central Pacific to build eastward from the Sierras until its line should meet that of the Union Pacific. Thus both companies, coveting the subsidy in lands and bonds, were stimulated to the greatest exertion, and entered into one of the most remarkable railway construction contests in history. The Central Pacific won, owing partly to their thousands of docile, hard-working Chinese laborers, and instead of meeting the Union Pacific Company in the foothills of the Sierras, as the latter expected, they met them at Promontory Point, fifty-three miles west of Ogden. The junction was effected on the 28th of April, 1869, and the ceremony of "driving the golden spike" took place on the 10th of May, in the presence of a large concourse of people brought by the two companies from opposite sides of the continent.

Although Sacramento had been the starting point in the eastward construction of the Central Pacific, it remained the actual terminus for only a few months, the road being soon extended to the great bay.

If its effects upon the development of California were to be regarded as the test of success, no work of public utility was ever more fully justified by its results than this first transcontinental railway. In the decade immediately following 1850, while the gold rush was still at its height, that State had increased in population from 92,000 to 380,000. During the decade of railway construction, 1860–1870, the increase was only 180,000, giving a total population in 1870 of 560,000. The next ten years saw the figures increased to 864,700, a gain over 1870 of more than 304,000. This extraordinary rate of growth was surpassed

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George Bancroft. *From an early photograph.*

in the period 1880 to 1890, giving California a population of over 1,200,000 at the time of the eleventh census. In 1900 it had 1,485,053 inhabitants and ranked twenty-first among the American States.

The most noteworthy gains were made by the commercial city of San Francisco. The 56,800 population of 1860 became 149,470 in 1870, and nearly 234,000 in 1880. Ten years later it was 299,000, and at the last census period 342,182. It is believed that at present the metropolis of the Pacific coast ranks among the cities of half a million population. Commerce has been the primary cause of this wonderful development. San Francisco's export trade with China, Japan, the Hawaiian Islands, Australia, Mexico, Central and South America, and the countries of Europe, has constantly expanded until the totals amount to millions. The city controlled all the trade of the great valley, where the development of wheat culture, stimulated by the construction of branch lines of railroad, made San Francisco for a time one of the world's great wheat shipping ports. In 1870, California's total wheat crop was 16,676,702 bushels as compared with 5,927,700 in 1860. By 1881 it had risen to 50,000,000 bushels, gathered from 3,000,000 acres of land. Great Britain alone took in this year over $28,000,000 worth of wheat and flour. Many of the vast stock ranges were converted into wheat fields; lands worth one dollar quickly rose to ten, twenty, or even fifty dollars per acre. It is worthy of note that since the year 1877 California has imported great quantities of hides to supply the demand of her own tanneries, while previous to that time she always exported many hundreds of tons. The grazing industry, so long preëminent, has been reduced to a subordinate place by the more highly developed system of agriculture made possible by the railway.

Aside from opening up the interior of the State, railroad building gave new life to the ancient Spanish settlements occupying the plains and valleys along the coast. The railroad had been pushed southward from San Francisco along

the bay, and into the Santa Clara valley, even before the completion of the transcontinental line. Soon afterward it was extended to the Salinas valley. Other lines were built connecting the delightful region of southern California with the main line of the Southern Pacific, which gradually made its way across the Colorado desert toward the East by Davis's route near the thirty-second parallel. These portions of California had not shared proportionately with the north in the prosperity brought to the State by the gold rush. They were out of the direct currents of the gold interest, were otherwise somewhat isolated, were troubled with the persistent land title question, and handicapped by the presence of a large non-progressive element in the population. The great county of Los Angeles had in 1870 only fifteen thousand three hundred and nine people, which represented a gain of not quite four thousand in a decade. In 1874, the population of the city of Los Angeles was reported to be about ten or twelve thousand, one-half of whom were Mexicans occupying the old town.

From the early days of the Spanish missions it had been known that this country was perfectly adapted to the growing of many varieties of fruit, the missionaries having in their gardens the most luscious grapes, melons, pears, cherries, and oranges. Some attention had been given to horticulture as a means of supplying abundant fruit for home use, but there had been no inducement for going into the business on a large scale. But the transcontinental railroad had demonstrated the profitableness of fruit raising by furnishing a market at excellent prices for all that could be shipped east. Some of the northern districts of the State, like the Santa Clara valley, reaped the first advantage of the new trade, shipping overland in 1871 nearly seventeen hundred tons. But southern California soon appeared as a keen rival in the business, and after the proper railway connections were established, came to be the great centre of supply for the orange, lemon, lime, fig, and other subtropical fruits. In 1874, lands for fruit growing near

Los Angeles were selling at sixty dollars per acre (only a tithe of their later value), irrigation works, partly by means of artesian wells, were being rapidly extended, and the entire region was undergoing a rapid and complete change. Southern California as a whole "more than doubled its population and trebled its wealth between 1870 and 1880."

Los Angeles, as the leading city of the district, developed an extensive commerce by sea as well as by rail. Its ports are at Santa Monica and Wilmington, respectively fourteen and twenty miles from the city, yet its shipping interests have steadily grown, latterly at a very rapid rate, until it has come to be regarded as a rival to San Francisco. By artificial means the old port of San Pedro, which had proved so distressing to the hide and tallow ships of seventy years before, has been made a good harbor. The population of Los Angeles was in 1880 only 11,183; in 1890 it was 50,395, and at the last census, 1900, 102,479. Other places in southern California have likewise made steady though not such large gains since the opening of the railroad and the beginning of the fruit raising era in that section. San Diego, Santa Barbara, Pasadena, San Bernardino, Pomona, Redlands, and Riverside are all important and growing places, and the list could readily be extended.

Other parts of the State have continued their horticultural development also, so that the annual fruit crop has become a large item in California's resources. The total value of specified kinds of fruit in 1899 is given by the government census report as twenty-eight million two hundred and eighty thousand one hundred and four dollars. The great valley and the Salinas and Santa Clara valleys are vying with southern California in the production of certain varieties. All sections of the State have had to fight fruit pests and diseases like that which destroyed the vineyards some years ago, but on the whole the business has continued to prosper, and the way in which large grain farms are being broken up and planted to fruit shows the

confidence that the Californians have in the great market which the railroad opened up for them.

The completion of the first transcontinental railway was hailed in the Northwest with only less enthusiasm than was manifested in California. The northern people realized that any improvement in transportation between California and the East would redound to their benefit. It would bring many immigrants into the country, would facilitate the transmission of news, and cheapen the cost of certain classes of goods shipped from the east coast. Yet, in spite of the indirect benefits thus derived from it, the Central Railway was not at all sufficient for their needs. It barely touched the old Oregon Territory at the southeast corner and reached no part of the settled area. In order to render it directly valuable to this section, other roads would have to be built through the Northwest connecting with the Central. The routes for such branch lines were clearly marked out by nature. One was the old emigrant road from the Columbia to Fort Hall, along which Wilkes had proposed to carry his national railroad in 1845; the other was the wagon and stage route which had been opened from the Columbia by way of the Willamette, southern Oregon, and the Siskiyou Mountains to the Sacramento valley.

Several years before the Central Railway was completed California parties began surveying this line from the Sacramento to the Columbia, and although nothing came of it at the time other schemes and surveys were set on foot which finally led to railroad construction in Oregon. In April, 1868, ground was broken at Portland for two roads, one to run on the east side, the other on the west side, of Willamette River. Five years later, the east side railroad was completed to Roseburg in the Umpqua valley, which remained the virtual terminus for many years, the California and Oregon stage covering the difficult and tedious section of road between this point and the upper Sacramento. Finally, after many delays, this line was carried successfully across the Siskiyous to connect with the Central

Pacific. (1887). One great service which it early achieved for Oregon was that of bringing the isolated southern Oregon district into close relations with the Willamette and the Columbia.

Meantime, in 1874, Henry Villard became interested in this line and in the railroad development of the Pacific Northwest generally. His first large enterprise was the opening of railway transportation along the Columbia, on the south bank, connecting Portland with the Dalles, the Walla Walla country and eastern Oregon. To bring this about he organized, with the enterprising Portland men who controlled the navigation of the Columbia, the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. Their portage roads, the earliest railways in the Northwest, were absorbed by the new system, which was first built to Baker City in the Powder River valley, and later running practically along the old emigrant trail up the Snake River valley, extended to meet the Union Pacific at Granger, Wyoming. Before this project could be fully executed, Villard also secured control of the Northern Pacific, which had experienced many financial vicissitudes since the granting of its first charter by Congress, but had been in process of building from Duluth at the western extremity of Lake Superior and from Lake Pend d'Oreille toward the lower Columbia for several years. The union of all these interests under his management gave an impulse to railroad development. Construction was hurried forward at utmost speed both from the east and from the west, and September 8, 1883, in western Montana, the last spike was driven by Villard in the presence of a throng of visitors from both coasts, and from nearly every country of the Old World. One of the orators on this occasion was the venerable Senator J. W. Nesmith, of Oregon, who, as a young man, had crossed the plains in the great wagon train of 1843.

Railroad building did not cease with the year 1883, but has been almost continuous from that time to the present. The main line of the Northern Pacific, the Columbia and

Snake River road, the link from Portland to Puget Sound, the new Great Northern line to the Sound, the connection northward with the Canadian Pacific and southward with the Central Pacific, form the outlines of a system which has gradually been extended, by means of branches, into many new productive regions of the Northwest; and much still remains to be done. The results, while marvellous in themselves, are only such as had long been foretold by those familiar with the resources of the Northwest. This becomes plain when we compare the slow progress of this region during the early period with the rapid development that has taken place in the past thirty-four years, and especially in the past twenty-one years, since the completion of the Northern Pacific.

In 1870, when the great movement was beginning, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho had a combined population of 130,000, of which 91,000 belonged to Oregon and only 24,000 to the northern territory. Almost exactly one-half (64,200) of the total population of the Northwest was living in the Willamette valley, where, even without railroads, it was possible to transport products to a seaport market. The other half was widely distributed, in southern and eastern Oregon, along the coast and the Columbia River in both Oregon and Washington, and through the numerous mining camps of Idaho. The metropolis of the region was Portland, which boasted of 8,293 inhabitants, an increase since the census of 1860 of 5,425. Southern Oregon had about 12,000 people, eastern Oregon 10,500, the coast and Columbia River districts 4,250. The counties bordering on the Sound had one-half of the 24,000 people in Washington, while the region east of the Cascades had 7,000 of the remainder. Idaho contained 15,000, lacking one, scattered among a score or more of mining camps.

The great valley of western Oregon was in 1870 the only district of this whole country that was fully settled by an agricultural population; and even here, while the lands were nearly all occupied, large portions of them remained

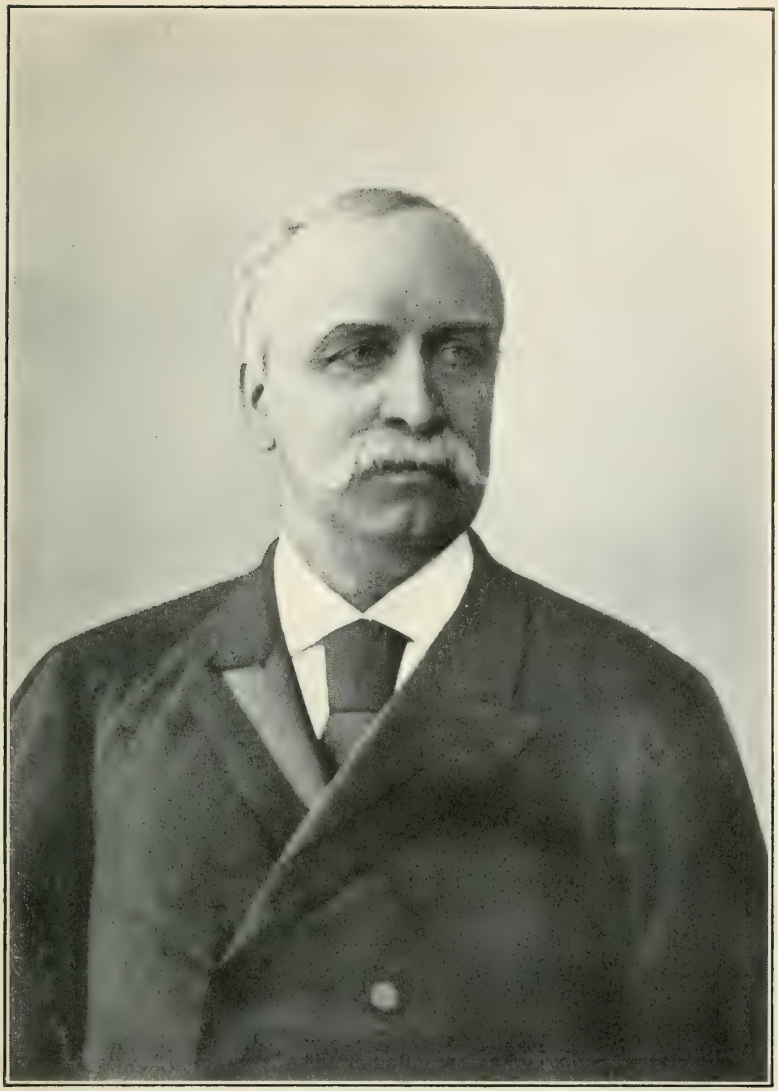
untilled; for many of the early emigrants had taken advantage of the so-called "Donation Land Law" passed by Congress in 1850, which gave to every settler a half section of land, and to his wife the same quantity. This made the farms too large for the most profitable tillage under pioneer conditions. The grain raised upon them was shipped down the river to Portland in steamboats, and great herds of cattle, still a leading product of the valley, were driven across the mountains to supply the mining camps as far east as Montana, and to stock the ranches then beginning to be established in many portions of the Inland Empire. The towns of the valley, except Portland, were all mere villages, centres of an agricultural trade. Southern Oregon, where farming, stock raising, and mining were all carried on together, was enjoying a fair degree of prosperity; but there also, as on the upper Columbia, no great development in agriculture was possible without railroads to open a wider market for the products of the soil. The Coos Bay district had already become famous for its coal, and in 1874 sent forty-five thousand tons to San Francisco. This was, however, an exceptional year for the coal trade.

Puget Sound was acquiring a world wide reputation for its lumber. Soon after the opening of the California market, capitalists from the East and from San Francisco began on the Sound the establishment of enormous lumbering plants. The small water power mills of the pioneering time sank into insignificance or ceased to exist, and monster steam mills, planted at a few of the most favorable points, monopolized the business. Each of the great saw mills supported a settlement, made up at first almost entirely of the company's employés, which sometimes numbered five hundred men. After awhile, with the occupation of the farming lands in their vicinity, some of these settlements grew into important market and shipping points. But the towns of western Washington were for a long time behind Walla Walla, both in wealth and in population. In 1870 Olympia, the largest of them, had but one thousand two

hundred people, while Seattle had one thousand one hundred, and Tacoma seventy-three. Seattle had in 1880 hardly outgrown the conditions of a village. There was some talk of connecting this region by rail with Oregon on the south, and with the Inland Empire by means of a railroad across the Cascade Mountains; but nothing had been done, and the Sound country was almost completely shut off from all other sections of the Northwest.

Social conditions had been very unsatisfactory in the little lumbering communities, because there were so many single men without homes, and but few families. This difficulty was keenly felt, and very unusual efforts were made to overcome it. In 1866 a shipload of young women were brought to Seattle from the East, largely through the efforts of Asa Mercer, who sunk what little fortune he possessed in this public-spirited enterprise. Their coming led to the planting of many new homes, promoted farm life, and brought about a great improvement in the character of the settlement. Puget Sound and the entire Northwest owe a debt of gratitude to these excellent women, many of whom, fortunately, are still living to enjoy the prosperity which their coming to this far-off coast did so much to create. In the words of C. B. Bagley: "They have proved a blessing to every community, from the Cowlitz north to the boundary line."

Such was the situation of the Northwest at the beginning of the railroad age. It was a region containing a score or more of distinct settlements, most of which had little in common with any of the others. Each went its own way, producing what it could, selling what it might, in the mines, in San Francisco, and in Portland. Because there was little intercourse between the sections, there was much jealousy and ill will. Politically, the Northwest was divided into three parts, Idaho having been set off as a separate Territory in 1863; but the lack of unity within the separate divisions gave opportunity for numerous schemes to alter boundaries and to create new Territories. At one time there was a plan



Henry Villard.

From a photograph in possession of Oswald Garrison Villard, Esq.


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to unite the Willamette valley and Puget Sound into one State, making another of the entire inland country; again, it was proposed to annex the Walla Walla country to Oregon; to unite northeastern Washington with northern Idaho, and make a separate State of this; to attach southeastern Washington to southern Idaho and eastern Oregon.

The railroads produced a great transformation in almost every respect. The men who were responsible for the construction of these lines were especially anxious to attract emigrants to the Northwest, in order to develop its great resources and thus create business for the roads. Emigration bureaus were formed in cities of the Atlantic coast; pamphlets describing the advantages of the country were distributed broadcast; and Northwestern farm lands were widely advertised in the newspapers. As a result, the population of the region increased with great rapidity, as compared with the period prior to 1870. As already stated, the total for that year was 130,000. In the ten years from 1870 to 1880 there was an addition of 152,500; in the next decade, 465,000; while from 1890 to 1900 the gain was 330,000. It is interesting to note that while California was far in advance of the Northwest when the period began, and continued to lead for another ten years, its increase since 1880 has been very much less.

The growth of cities is yet more striking. In 1870, Portland was the only town approximating a population of ten thousand. It was already flourishing, but from that time its progress was remarkable. The census of 1880 gave the city 17,577; that of ten years later, 46,385; and the last (1900), 90,426. On Puget Sound the village of Tacoma, with 73 inhabitants in 1870, and only 1,100 in 1880, leaped by 1890 to 36,000. During the last ten-year period, however, very little gain was made, the census of 1900 showing only 37,714. Since 1900 its progress has again been rapid. Seattle presents the spectacle of a town that has grown in twenty years from a village of 3,533 people to a city of 80,271. This result is due largely to

the railroads, although Seattle has in recent years gained enormously on account of the trade with Alaska. East of the Cascade Mountains towns have, of course, grown less rapidly; but there has been substantial progress in all three States comprising the Pacific Northwest, so much so that Washington was enabled to gain the rights of statehood in 1889,—admitted on November 11th,—and Idaho in the following year—July 3, 1890. Idaho in 1900 had two cities of over four thousand each, Boise and Pocatello; eastern Oregon had two, Baker City and Pendleton; and eastern Washington two, Walla Walla and Spokane.

Considering that Spokane is an inland town, its history has been an extraordinary one. A few pioneers settled on "Spokane Prairie" as early as 1862, and stores were opened near the bridge to supply the wants of miners going east into the mountains. But for some years the place remained very insignificant, and in 1880 it had but three hundred and fifty inhabitants. The rapid growth since that time is due mainly to the fact that the railroad opened up near Spokane one of the most wonderful wheat-raising districts in the world, the so-called "Palouse" country, stretching southward toward Snake River. Having a magnificent water power in its falls, Spokane quickly became a centre for the manufacture of flour, as well as a distributing point both for the rich agricultural region to the south and the mining districts to the north and east.

The development of the agricultural resources of the Inland Empire has been very rapid. That region, which before the advent of the railway could not raise wheat at a profit for shipment down the river, has now superseded the great valley of California as the leading wheat producing section of the Pacific coast. It is this that has made Portland one of the greatest wheat and flour ports in the United States. The area of cultivation each year increasingly encroaches upon the area of pasturage in the three States of the Northwest.

CHAPTER XXII

RUSSIAN AMERICA

Alaska bears a peculiar relation to the territorial development of the United States. The region between the Atlantic and the Mississippi was an inheritance from the mother country; from France was acquired the Louisiana country; from Spain, directly and indirectly, the two Floridas, Texas, New Mexico, and California. All these nations, as well as Holland, whose interests had earlier been absorbed by Great Britain, held possessions in the New World by virtue of their expansion westward across the Atlantic. Alaska was the only territory acquired by a European power in America as a consequence of expansion eastward across the Pacific.

In Russia, about the middle of the sixteenth century, shortly after the overthrow of the Tartars and the establishment of a true national monarchy, there began a movement toward the interior comparable in some respects to that which followed the Revolutionary War in our own country. But there were great differences in motives, in the characteristics of the pioneers of the two countries, and in the results obtained. The American pioneer was either a fur trader, a hunter, a missionary, a soldier, or a farmer seeking out new lands for settlement; the original Russian pioneer usually was a fugitive from justice, or a declared convict, sentenced to receive the punishment of exile in some portion of the vast wilds beyond the frontier of the empire.

But commercial and military motives operated in both cases, the merchants becoming as ubiquitous on the north-flowing rivers of Siberia as in the valleys of the American West, while every Cossack was by training and disposition a fighting man bent on conquest. It is supposed to have been the exigencies of commerce which induced the first plunge into the trans-Ural country. As the story runs, some English merchants, trading from the White Sea down the Volga and by way of the Caspian Sea to Persia, were attacked by a plundering crew and robbed of ship and goods. This incident, said to have occurred in 1573, caused the czar to send an armed force to the lower Volga and the Caspian for the purpose of freeing these regions of the Cossack pirates, many of whom took refuge in the western portion of Siberia. It was such bands of semi-barbarians, men endued with exceptional native energy and with a kind of enterprise having its basis in the love of warlike adventure, who, under chosen leaders, began the process of reducing Siberia to subjection, and adding it, a small portion at a time, to the imperial crown. The trade in furs had long been a leading Russian industry; and when it was found that the new territories were rich in fur-bearing animals, especially in the highly-prized sable, great interest was aroused among the merchants, who hastened to extend their trade eastward as rapidly as the country was made Russian territory.

The first important conquest was on Tobol River, where a petty Tartar king had previously held sway, and there, at a point about midway between the Aral Sea and the Gulf of Obi was founded the city of Tobolsk, which served as a point of departure for new and wider acquisitions. The Cossacks moved eastward from river valley to river valley, cutting a broad path of conquest through the centre of Siberia, and setting up, to mark their progress, a line of fortified cities including Tomsk on the upper waters of the Obi, Yeneseisk on the Yenesei, Irkutsk on lake Baikal, and Yakutsk on the river Lena. As early as 1639 this line

was extended to the Pacific on the Sea of Okhotsk, where the important city of that name was founded.

Each successive conquest was regularly organized, the fur trade was established with the towns to the West, and the rivers were explored. Not infrequently, trading posts were set up on the lower courses of the rivers near the Arctic Ocean; and the hardy and adaptable Cossacks were to be found coasting along the misty shores of the continent in clumsy open boats, or making discoveries among the islands beyond. By sailing from one estuary to the next they gradually crept eastward, gaining for their country a fund of geographical information denied to other European nations, like the English and the Dutch, whose navigators had made repeated efforts to sail from Europe northward round Asia, but for a long time got little farther east than the vicinity of Novaya Zemlya.

Not alone the fur trade, but also the search for ivory, so plentifully found—in the shape of tusks and teeth of the mammoth—embedded in the drift along the sea coast and the rivers, led the Cossacks onward, until, in 1648, as there is some reason to believe, one band of them under Deshne rounded the northeastern point of the Asiatic continent. They sailed through Bering Strait to the mouth of the river Anadir, where in the following year a fort was erected, and called Anadirsk.

Two points had been gained on the Pacific, Okhotsk in the south, Anadirsk in the northeast. The great peninsula of Kamtchatka was added to the Russian possessions, against the desperate and bloody resistance of its inhabitants, early in the eighteenth century. From this point the conquerors came in contact with the Japanese along the line of the Kurile Islands; the confines of China had already been reached by way of Lake Baikal and Amoor River; and it was rumored that opposite the narrow northern portion of the sea which washed their extended coast line lay another land peopled by an unknown race.

The reign of the great Peter, significant in so many other directions, was responsible also for the inauguration of the

comprehensive exploring plans which resulted in the discovery of Alaska. This monarch's interest in everything relating to commercial and maritime affairs is proverbial. One leading point of his early policy had been to give Russia a seacoast on the west, thus making possible for Russia a commercial career. In this he was successful through the acquisition of the Baltic coast and the founding of the commercial capital, St. Petersburg. In the opposite direction his subjects had already extended the imperial boundaries to the Pacific in latitudes which promised easy access to the coasts of America. The opportunity presented to him was unique; for it was those portions of America not yet reached by the other nations which fell within the field of Russian enterprise. The czar had surrounded himself with scientific men drawn from all Europe whose abilities could be utilized for exploring purposes. How far this coterie of savants, or individuals among them, was responsible for the plans developed at this time we do not know, but it is probable that some of them exerted considerable influence over the czar. The exploration of the north and east coasts of Siberia would afford an opportunity to settle a perplexing geographical question of long standing, that of whether America was a distinct land mass or was, at the far northwest, connected with Asia. Earlier explorations, such as the one of 1648, were regarded as not conclusive on that point.

Peter fitted out an exploring party under the general command of Vitus Bering, a Dane, assisted by Chirikof, a Russian navigator. The instructions were to proceed to Kamtchatka, build two ships there, and sail to the northern coasts of Siberia "to see whether they were not contiguous with America." This done, they were to seek for European harbors or ships, and in general to explore the American coasts, keeping an exact journal of all their achievements. It was the 5th of February, just three days before Peter's death, that the company set out to cross Siberia, enduring much inconvenience and hardship before reaching the Pacific.

About three years were consumed in making preparations for the voyage. Finally, on the 20th of July, 1728, Bering set out up the coast of Kamtchatka in a ship named the *Gabriel.* He discovered and named St. Lawrence Island, and on the 8th of August rounded the northern point of Asia, finding that the coast turned sharply to the east. He had thus determined beyond all doubt that Asia and America were separate continents; and, although he failed to secure a glimpse of the land to the east, floating fir trees observed in his ocean path showed that it lay at no great distance. There is some evidence to show that Krupischef actually saw the Alaskan coast a few years later.

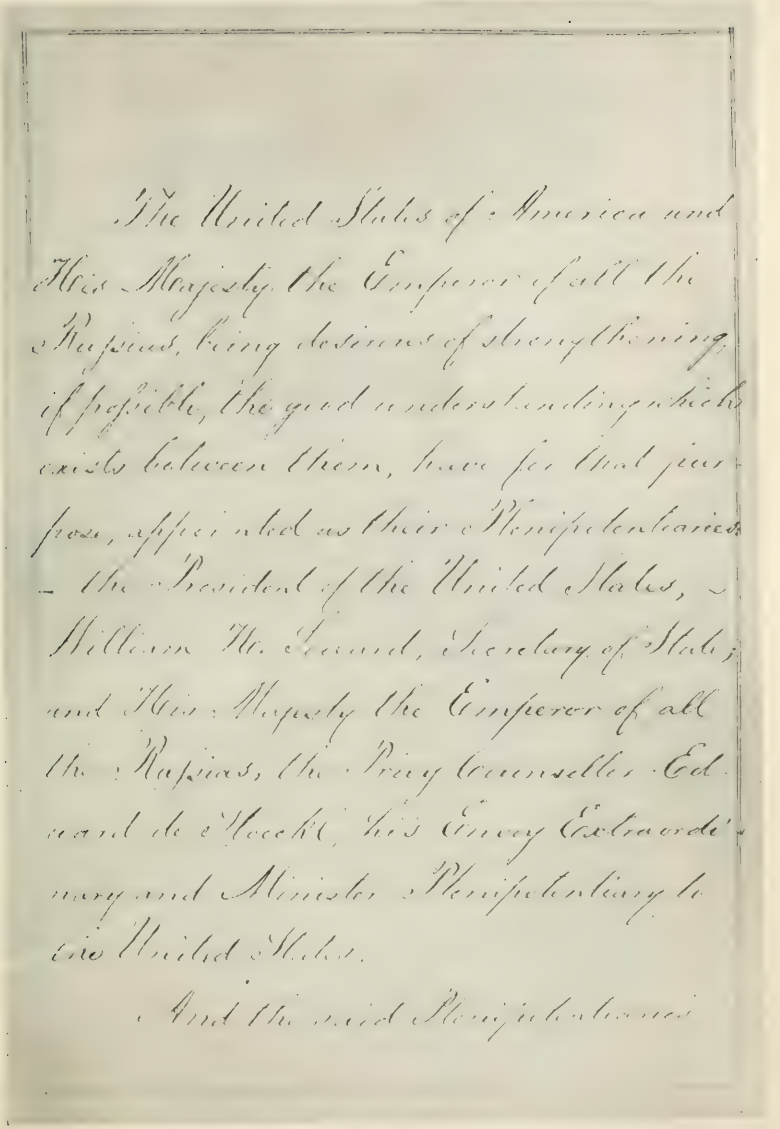
When Bering returned to St. Petersburg with his report, he urged the complete execution of the exploring plans of Peter the Great as well as the carrying out of some additional projects of his own. A scientific survey of Siberia, the discovery and exploration of the American coast opposite, and the examination of the Kurile Islands and Japan were included in this comprehensive scheme. He was successful, was himself placed in command of the work, and with a great aggregation of scientific men and a large body of attendants and servants of every description, made his way eastward in 1733. But a host of obstacles—difficulties with Siberian officials, problems of transportation, of shipbuilding, of gathering supplies—retarded progress to such an extent that Bering and Chirikof were not ready to begin the exploration of America until the spring of 1741.

On the 4th of June in that year, the two navigators sailed from Kamtchatka, Bering in command of the ship *St. Peter*, and Chirikof, of the *St. Paul.* It was the intention to explore in company, but after some days, during which the course was mainly southeast, the ships were separated in a storm, and never spoke each other again. Bering ran sharply to the northeast and north, sailing steadily for more than five weeks. Finally, on July 16th, he came in sight of a rugged coast, presenting a vast chain of mountains and

a noble peak, wrapped in eternal snows. "He was in the shadow of Mt. St. Elias." A landing was effected on an island near this coast, but for some unaccountable reason Bering allowed no time for serious exploration and made haste to return to Kamtchatka. He never reached there; for, after beating about the south coast of the Alaska peninsula, without actually seeing land more than once or twice, because of almost unintermitting rains and fogs, and among the numberless islands strewn through the ocean to the westward, the *St. Peter* was wrecked upon the rocky coast of a small island not far from Kamtchatka, where, on December 8, 1741, the commander died. He had discovered a large number of islands, had named the Shumagins, and, of the Aleutian group, St. Paul, Amchitka, Semichi, and Kishka. His crew had suffered miserably from the scurvy, a large majority had died, and the rest remained for nine months upon Bering Island.

The ship *St. Paul*, under Captain Chirikof, held a more easterly course than that taken by Bering, and discovered land one day earlier, July 15th, on the south coast of Alaska, not far from Sitka. In attempting to land, ten of the men were lost, apparently destroyed by the natives, and afterward several others, sent to look for the first party, disappeared. These were the first sacrifices to the Kolosh Indians. Chirikof gave up all hope of exploring the new found land, and sailed for Kamtchatka. On the way he casually examined the coast to the point which was first seen by Bering, in latitude fifty-eight degrees fourteen minutes, and he also discovered several important islands, among them Unalaska, Adahk, and Attoo. On October 10th a famished, haggard remnant of the crew was landed at Kamtchatka.

Chirikof and Bering had observed about the coasts of the Aleutian Islands many sea otter, fur seal, and Arctic foxes, animals whose value as fur bearers was as yet imperfectly understood among the Russians, only a few stray otter having thus far been taken along the shore of Kamtchatka. But the crew of Bering's wrecked vessel, during the winter and



The United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of strengthening, if possible, the good understanding which exists between them, have for that purpose appointed as their Plenipotentiaries: the President of the United States, William H. Seward, Secretary of State; and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Privy Counsellor Edouard de Stoeckl, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States.

And the said Plenipotentiaries

First and last pages of the treaty, dated March 13, 1867, for the cession of the Russian possessions in America (Alaska). *From the original in the Department of State, Washington.*

ratified and in due form by Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within [illegible] months from the date hereof or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this convention, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington the [illegible] day of [illegible] in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty seven.

William H. Seward

Edouard de Stoeckl.

summer spent on Bering Island, killed large numbers of these animals for food, preserving the beautiful skins for clothing, bedding, and other uses. These skins, to the number of nearly a thousand, were brought to Kamtchatka in August, 1742, in a vessel constructed out of the wreck of the *St. Peter*. It was learned that the Chinese were paying fabulous prices for such skins, and immediately the greatest interest was aroused among the Russian merchants and the *promischleniki*, or professional fur hunters of Siberia.

The next spring, 1743, a vessel was fitted out at Kamtchatka under Bassof, who sailed to Bering and Copper Islands, where he spent the winter, and whence he returned with a cargo of sixteen hundred sea otter, two thousand fur seal, and two thousand fox skins. Others fitted out vessels for the same purpose, and so the oceanic trade from the east coast of Asia toward America was definitely established. The boats employed were of the rudest description, rough planks and beams, sewed or tied together with leather strings, with scarcely an iron nail or bolt in the entire structure. Shipwrecks were very numerous and resulted in tremendous losses of life and property during the earlier period of the trading movement. Yet, with such crazy craft, island after island was added to the Russian discoveries, and finally the inlets of the continent itself began to be visited for the purpose of obtaining the furs to be found there.

At first the trade was wholly unregulated. Some Cossack chieftain, accustomed to the command of small hunting parties, sought the support of a merchant to provide financial means for the expedition, got ready his clumsy *shitka* and hoisted sail. Reaching a promising fur-producing island he landed, beached the vessel for the winter, established his camp, and began the collection of furs. Competing hunters were likely to visit the same coast, and fights and murders were of frequent occurrence, while the defenceless natives were forced to submit to the worst atrocities. Moreover, the slaughter of otters and seals was so indiscriminate as to threaten the rapid destruction of the trade itself.

There is not in the entire history of North America, so fruitful in fur-trading experiments, a better illustration of the evils of unregulated traffic. And here as elsewhere the evil was corrected, partially at least, by a gradual drawing together of the numerous concerns engaged in the trade, and the organization of a few great companies to take the place of a large number of small ones. In the space of forty years this tendency became marked; and then the time was ripe for the next important step, the establishment of a trading monopoly.

The new development took definite shape about 1783, when a noted Siberian merchant, Shelikof by name, who had long been interested in the American trade, went in person to Alaska with a following of nearly two hundred men and proceeded to colonize the country. He first established a permanent settlement on the great island of Kadiak, which had been explored twenty years earlier by Glottof, a fur-hunting chief. The natives were quickly subdued and brought into a kind of servitude to the Russians, and Shelikof claimed to have done something toward Christianizing and educating them. Within four years he and his large company had explored many portions of southwestern Alaska, planted trading stations at Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, places first thoroughly examined by Captain Cook in 1778, and also at a point near Cape St. Elias. It was these operations, a knowledge of which was gained by Martinez and Haro in 1788, that stimulated the Spanish to fortify Nootka Sound. It is said that Delarof, Shelikof's agent at Kadiak, assumed the responsibility of informing Captain Haro of a plan which his employer had to establish a post at Nootka the next year.

Having so effectually begun the occupation of Alaska, Shelikof returned in 1787 to Siberia, and a little later presented himself before the Empress Catherine to plead for a grant of monopoly privileges. Circumstances were auspicious; for it was by this time well understood in Russia that the competitive system was responsible for most of the

barbarities that current report credited to the American fur hunters. Catherine was disposed to favor an arrangement giving a promise of better treatment to the natives of these countries, especially if at the same time it was likely to promote commercial and national interests. Moreover, Shelikof gained the active support of the governor-general of Siberia, to whom the empress appealed for counsel in the matter of governing her American dominions, and also that of the president of the imperial college of commerce. Accordingly, in September, 1788, an imperial ukase was issued granting to the Shelikof-Golikof company exclusive control over the districts actually occupied by them in Alaska and the islands adjacent.

While this left room for independent traders, who might seek out commercial opportunities in unoccupied sections, it gave the company an advantage over all rivals. Besides, it established the principle of monopoly in the fur trade, an idea which was bound in time to gain a wider application, and if this company should prove itself worthy of confidence it might hope ultimately to control the entire commerce of Alaska. For a decade there was a fierce struggle between rival associations, with a gradual growth in power on the part of the Shelikof company; and then, in 1799, this organization, enlarged and strengthened by the accession of Count Rezanof, Shelikof's son-in-law, and other members of the Russian nobility, secured from Paul I. a complete monopoly of Alaskan commerce for a period of twenty years, under the name of the Russian-American Fur Company.

The imperial ukase, dated December 27, 1799, fixed the company's territorial limits as extending from the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude on the American coast to Bering Strait, and included also the "Aleutian, Kurile, and other islands situated in the north-eastern ocean." The company was authorized to make new discoveries, "not only north of the 55th degree of north latitude, but farther to the south, and to occupy the new lands discovered, as Russian possessions. . . . To use and profit by everything which

has been or may be discovered in those localities, on the surface and in the bosom of the earth, without any competition by others; to establish and fortify settlements at will, and freely trade in all the regions described." A significant article is the fifth, by which the company was empowered, "to extend their navigation to all adjoining nations and hold business intercourse with all surrounding powers, upon obtaining their free consent for the purpose, and under our highest protection, to enable them to prosecute their enterprises with greater force and advantage." It was also granted the privilege of using government timber in Siberia, of buying at cost from government magazines a limited quantity of powder and lead, and of receiving the aid of national military and naval forces when necessary to protect its interests. Finally, it was permitted to exercise judicial powers in minor cases. All independent traders or trading partnerships must either enter the privileged company, or retire from the field. Such was the documentary basis of the powers, only slightly modified at later times, under which the Russian-American Company governed Alaska and shaped its history during the greater portion of the nineteenth century, until the country passed into the hands of the United States.

In return for these truly imperial concessions the company agreed to maintain missionaries of the Greek Church in the country for the benefit of the natives, and to encourage shipbuilding and agriculture on the part of Russian settlers. Its capital was increased, practically all the minor companies hastened to take refuge under its sheltering charter, members of the royal family and others high in authority became stockholders, and its headquarters were removed from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg.

At the time of the consolidation, the Shelikof-Golikof company had as its manager in Alaska a Russian merchant named Alexander Baranoff. He had spent a number of years in Siberia, acquiring a practical mastery of all questions relating to the fur trade, and had gained Shelikof's unbounded

confidence by his rare commercial abilities, organizing power, energy, and leadership. He was a man of wholly uncommon cast; insignificant in stature, baldheaded, rather ill-favored in countenance, the secret of his power lay in an indomitable will, quickness, and accuracy of thought and judgment, and just that measure of unscrupulousness which enabled him to derive the largest material advantages from his surroundings. His coarseness, levity, and brutal intemperance, which would have unfitted him for more polished society, were the means, when coupled with a generous disposition and sympathetic nature, to win him the absolute devotion of the troops of rough men engaged in the wilderness traffic which he directed.

Baranoff had come to Alaska in 1790 and had been chiefly responsible for the success of the Shelikof company during the nine years following. He was then selected as manager of the new concern, and during the succeeding nineteen years was the controlling force in Alaskan history.

The headquarters of the Shelikof company had been at St. Paul, on the island of Kadiak. It was there that Baranoff assumed control of affairs in 1790, though he spent much time on Prince William Sound, where he established a shipbuilding station. But neither of these places fulfilled his ideal of a trading capital for Alaska, the one being too far north, the other too far west; while the rapid decrease of furs in these regions, and the encroachments of American and British traders upon the more fruitful hunting grounds further south, enforced the necessity of taking firm possession at some point on the lower coast. After careful inquiries Baranoff decided to plant his main trading fort in the region of Norfolk Sound. Accordingly, in April, 1799, he set sail from Kadiak with two vessels, accompanied by a large number of bidarkas, each manned by a couple of Aleuts. In rounding a stormy headland a number of these cockle shells were overwhelmed by the waves and the men drowned. In an attack by the natives on shore a portion of the remainder were killed; so that when Baranoff reached

Norfolk Sound on the 25th of May his forces were much reduced. Nevertheless, he persisted in the enterprise. Landing at the island of Sitka, he secured a building spot from one of the Sitkan chiefs, set some of his men at work felling trees and hewing timbers, and in a short time a fort rose overlooking the waters of the bay. Meantime, a part of the Aleuts distributed themselves about the archipelago in small hunting parties.

When Baranoff arrived at Sitka he found in the harbor a Boston ship, the *Caroline*, Captain Cleveland, engaged in trade with the natives. He also found the Indians well supplied with guns and ammunition, secured at various times from British and American traders who had no thought of rendering this commerce permanent and therefore sold the articles that brought largest returns, wholly regardless of other results. This was one of the evils with which the Russian manager had to contend, and it caused him serious trouble. In June, 1802, while Baranoff was away at Kadiak, the savages of Sitka Island, aided by confederates gathered from the neighboring coasts and islands, attacked the fort and took it, massacring or capturing the entire colony with the exception of three Russians and two Aleuts, who made their escape to a British ship which came into the harbor during the attack.

This massacre was a heavy blow to Baranoff, but he refused to abandon his plans for the development of trade, and as soon as possible began preparations for punishing the Sitkans, retaking the island and rebuilding the fort. He was delayed by many obstacles until near the close of the year 1804, when he returned with a considerable force of his own, and being further assisted by a Russian vessel arriving just at this time, took possession of the island after a fierce and bloody battle with the natives. The place was then strongly fortified, the main buildings surrounded by a palisade, crowning the flat top of a high, steep bluff.

There, at New Archangel, as the fort was called, Baranoff created an establishment similar in many respects to the

later Fort Vancouver of the British fur company. As all the Russian stations in Alaska were on the seacoast it was not necessary to make this fort a general receiving and disbursing house for all furs and supplies as was the case at the Columbia emporium, but New Archangel was the commercial centre of Alaska as well as the administrative capital.

About the time of the first founding of Sitka a plan was matured in St. Petersburg, through the foresight of a naval officer named Krusensterne, for extending the commerce of the Russian-American Company. Up to that time, none of the furs collected in Alaska and the islands had been sent directly to China, though a portion of them had been carried thither at great expense from Siberia. Krusensterne, who had witnessed a sale of furs by an Englishman at Canton, saw the advantage of a direct trade with China. By sending ships around from the Baltic with the supplies usually transported across Siberia, gathering the Alaskan furs and selling them on the return voyage at Canton, and there loading with a cargo of oriental goods for St. Petersburg, a powerful impetus could be imparted to Russian commerce. Shipbuilding had already begun in a rude way in the Alaskan forests. By sending to America the most approved tools and materials, as well as a number of trained shipbuilders, it might be possible to supply from this source vessels of high quality for the new commerce. The number would be limited only by the capacity of the shipyards, for the coasts of Alaska produced the finest timber for the purpose in practically inexhaustible quantities.

Krusensterne's ideas were adopted, and their author himself appointed to carry them into execution. At the same time the government proposed to make an effort to open the ports of Japan. Krusensterne's expedition was for this purpose to be accompanied by Count Rezanof, chamberlain to the Czar, who was commissioned as ambassador to Japan. Two vessels were fitted out at Cronstadt, the

Nadeshda and the *Neva*, the former under the commander himself, the latter under Lisianski. They were well stored with supplies, with merchandise for trade, and materials for shipbuilding, and the *Neva* bore to Alaska a number of skilled mechanics.

The vessels sailed in the fall of 1803, rounded Cape Horn, ran to the Sandwich Islands and then separated, the *Neva* proceeding to Kadiak and later to New Archangel. She reached that place just in time to assist Baranoff in its recapture, as we have seen. Afterward she gathered a number of furs which were carried to Canton, where a valuable cargo was secured in exchange. With this, Lisianski returned to Cronstadt by way of the Cape of Good Hope, being the first subject of the czar to carry the Russian flag around the globe.

Rezanof's mission to Japan was a complete failure, for the Japanese government, after wasting a half year of his time in ridiculous formalities, refused to accept letters or presents from the czar, and warned the Russians never again to send a vessel to their ports. The Russian-American Company seemed unlikely soon to win an entrance into that quarter. Nevertheless, the coming of Rezanof with the expedition was to be of very great consequence to the company. Being himself a prominent member of the trading association, which by this time was dominated by court influences, Rezanof went to America clothed by the company with full power over its affairs and its resident officers. This authority he was not slow to exercise. At the island of St. Paul he stopped the slaughter of the fur-seals, believing that were this not done a few years would witness their total extermination. He regulated the relations between the company's servants and the natives, fostered education in a small way, and generally showed an enlightened spirit in the local reforms instituted by him.

But of greater interest were the plans he put forth for the future commercial development of Alaska. If these may be regarded as his own the Russian nobleman

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Blockhouse, forming part of Fort Wrangell, Alaska.

manifested a breadth of view and a comprehension of trade conditions which mark him as a man of no ordinary mould. The company must win for Russia a just share of the Oriental trade. It must prepare to force the Boston men out of the Northwest fur trade and control the Chinese market; it must open commercial relations with the Spanish in the Philippines or in Chili in order that breadstuffs might be obtained more cheaply and abundantly than from Okhotsk; finally, with the ships to be built in Alaska, Japan herself must be forced to give up her policy of exclusiveness. In this manner he outlined his plans in a letter to the czar, written before the chamberlain reached New Archangel. On arriving there he found conditions so hard that he made a special voyage to California in quest of grain. While he succeeded in obtaining a cargo on the strength of his betrothal to Doña Concepcion, there was no prospect that the Alaskan commerce with Spanish California could be rendered regular and permanent. In the end, the Russians decided to establish a colony of their own on the Southern coast and raise the cattle and wheat so badly needed in Alaska. The Fort Ross project may be looked upon as a partial carrying out of Rezanof's comprehensive schemes.

Baranoff, on retaking Sitka, which we shall henceforth speak of under this name although the Russians called the fort New Archangel, at once established a shipyard and turned out a number of vessels, some of them excellent three-masters of between two and three hundred tons. In this way was the material equipment to be secured for carrying out the new expansion projects. With the aid of these vessels California was occupied, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to gain control of the Hawaiian Islands. But the forces at the manager's command were always small, and it required a long time to build ships enough merely for the coast and island trade. And, since Baranoff could not depend upon Russian ships from Europe to bring supplies and carry furs to China, he was glad to

deal with American shipowners entering Alaskan waters, taking their goods and food stuffs in exchange for furs, which in this way found the Canton market. It was under such circumstances that a contract was entered into with Astor. Other features of what may be called Baranoff's foreign policy, like the otter-catching contracts with American skippers, and the founding of Fort Ross, have been sufficiently detailed in connection with early California history. The manager found his position arduous enough, and frequently petitioned the company to be relieved. Finally he was removed from office in 1818, in a manner which seems unjust, and which probably acted as a contributory cause of his death.

By this time the outlines of Russian-Alaskan history were distinctly drawn, the half century that was to intervene before the transfer of the country to the United States, developing some modifications but not to the extent of altering its general character. The line of trading stations, which commenced in the Aleutian Islands not far from Kamtchatka, extended along the entire south coast of Alaska, a branch line also running northward beyond the narrow western peninsula to near the mouth of Kuskokwim River. The buildings and defensive arrangements were everywhere very much improved after Baranoff's retirement. Some stations were abandoned because of the disappearance of the fur-bearing animals; others were planted in more promising localities.

The company's second charter, for a period of twenty years, was issued in 1821. This time its authority was declared to extend over the entire coast line to the latitude of fifty-one degrees, a pretension which called out vigorous protests from the United States and Great Britain, which both secured treaties fixing the Russian limit in this direction at fifty-four-forty. In other particulars the second charter was more liberal than the first. The problem of getting supplies to Alaska was partly solved by allowing the company to send them from Europe duty free, and also by

permitting the use of government vessels for that purpose. Yet, even with these advantages, dearth, if not famine as formerly, sometimes occurred on account of the loss of supply ships, and the importance of the Ross colony as a resource in such cases was considerable; although the establishment failed on the whole to yield a profit to the company, and in 1841 was sold to Captain Sutter.

During the administration of Baron Wrangell, the most celebrated of the company's managers after Baranoff, a serious dispute occurred between the Russians and the Hudson's Bay people over the right of the latter to use the southern Alaska rivers as highways for their trade from the interior. When the treaty was made with Great Britain in 1825 it was found necessary to establish a definite line separating the territories of the two powers, and on this occasion Alaska's extension toward the interior was for the first time defined. The line began at the southern extremity of Prince of Wales Island, in latitude fifty-four-forty; was thence extended along Portland Canal to the fifty-sixth degree on the mainland. "Hence the boundary line follows the chain of mountains running parallel with the coast to the point of intersection with the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and finally from the point of intersection on the same meridian to the Arctic Sea." The whole of Prince of Wales Island, however, was left to Russia, while the line along "the chain of mountains" was explained as being a line parallel to the coast, and not more than ten leagues (thirty miles) from it. That is to say, a thirty mile strip of mainland, from latitude fifty-six to the point at which this line, extended parallel to the coast, intersected the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude, was Russian territory. But an unfortunate provision was inserted in the treaty which granted "forever" to British subjects the right to use the rivers crossing this coast strip for the purpose of passing to and fro from the interior to the ocean or from the ocean to the interior. The Hudson's Bay Company, already long established on the main stream

of the Mackenzie, by the early thirties pushed their explorations to Dease Lake and the head waters of the Stikine, one of the rivers crossing the thirty mile strip. To facilitate the establishment of their trade in this region it was decided to plant a fort upon the Stikine. Wrangell, being forewarned, anticipated the British company, securing from the czar the withdrawal of the treaty clause permitting the British to use the rivers as highways. He also planted a fort, and stationed an armed cruiser at the mouth of the river, forcibly preventing the attempted entrance of a Hudson's Bay ship in 1833. The international complications resulting from this incident were settled in 1839, the Hudson's Bay Company obtaining from the Russian-American Company a lease of all their continental possessions from Cape Spencer, or Cross Sound, to fifty-four-forty. The British company agreed among other things to furnish the Russians annually with specified kinds of food stuffs in certain quantities at fixed rates.

This arrangement proved so satisfactory to both parties that it was continued to the end of the Russian *régime* by frequent renewals. It gave the British company a market for the wheat which now began to be grown in large quantities in the Willamette Valley. This took the place of the grain formerly brought to Alaska from Fort Ross. Soon the American settlement in Oregon was in a position to supply all necessities.

The Russian-American Company's charter was once more renewed for twenty years in 1841. This, however, was the final term of the great trading association, for after the expiration of this charter and before another renewal could be procured, the country was sold to the United States.

The story of the acquisition of Alaska by the United States is but one more chapter in the history of the growth of our national interests on the Pacific. Oregon was the starting point in that development, and California its most powerful impetus. With two States already established on the western ocean, and two great and promising Territories

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Native houses, called *barabára* by the Russians, on the Aleutian Islands.



Placer mining in Alaska.

waiting to become States; with the markets of the Orient opening to America as never before,—even the hermit nation of Japan having yielded to the magic or the terror of American war ships;—with the Pacific railways under construction; with projects for uniting America and Europe by means of a telegraph across Bering Strait and Siberia; with this vast accumulation of interests on the Pacific it is not to be wondered at that the United States should have prepared to profit by the willingness of Russia to give up Alaska.

The people of the Pacific States and Territories were more directly interested in Alaska than were those of other parts of the United States. In California, where the progress of population was something almost stupendous, all manner of wants were developed, and among them a demand for vast quantities of ice, not then a common article of manufacture as at present. Since there was no portion of the American territory on the Pacific which could be depended on to yield such a crop, it was necessary to seek it in higher latitudes. The Russian company, or a branch of it, undertook to supply San Francisco with this necessity, and from 1852 it was shipped in great quantities. The first railways in Alaska, so it is declared, were those laid at Sitka and at Kadiak to carry the ice to the shipping wharves.

California capitalists, who were seeking profitable investments everywhere along the coast, were anxious to participate in the fur trade of Alaska, wishing to supplant the Hudson's Bay Company in the occupation of the coast strip long since leased by the British company. There were also other projects of exploitation interesting to Californians; and it was Senator Gwin, of that State, who first broached the question of the purchase of Alaska.

In December, 1859,—according to Senator Sumner, who vouches for this,—during Buchanan's administration, Senator Gwin, as the unofficial representative of the president, sounded the Russian minister as to his government's willingness to sell Alaska, and, being asked what we would pay,

suggested five million dollars. The assistant secretary of state, Appleton, also had interviews with the Russian minister about the same time. The result was to bring the matter definitely before that government. There appears to have been an understanding that the United States was prepared to buy, and that Russia was ready to sell whenever mutually satisfactory terms could be arranged.

But the Civil War intervened, and six years passed with no further official mention of the matter, so far as is known. The people of Washington Territory, always keenly alive to the advantages which the northern connections of Puget Sound afforded them, were by this time greatly interested in the fisheries of the northern coast. Their legislature, in January, 1866, memorialized the President of the United States, setting forth that the fisheries of Alaska were very rich, and asking that the government obtain for its citizens from the Russian government the privilege of visiting the Alaskan coasts and harbors for fishing purposes. It also prayed for the more complete exploration by the government of the Pacific coast fisheries, from "Cortez Bank to Bering Straits." It was this document, according to Sumner, that revived the discussion of the purchase.

The Russian government found itself at this time somewhat in the position of Napoleon when he ceded Louisiana to the United States. It was in need of money; it had recently closed one war, and was preparing for another; its North American possessions had during the Crimean struggle been threatened by the British navy, and at the next opportunity might be taken. Moreover, the Russian-American Fur Company was not disposed to accept such a modification of its former charter as the government saw fit to grant, and there was little disposition to take over the territory once controlled by the company. The Archduke Constantine, brother of the czar, accordingly instructed the Russian minister at Washington to cede the territory to the United States, and within one month all arrangements were made and the treaty was signed on March 30, 1867.

The price at first agreed upon was seven million dollars. But Secretary Seward offered to increase it by two hundred thousand on condition that the Russian government cede the territory unencumbered with any "reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions by, any associated companies, . . . Russian or any other, . . ." He insisted on this condition and secured it, the Hudson's Bay Company retiring absolutely at the time of the entrance of the United States.





Typical town hall in the Klondike region.



Street view in Sitka, Alaska.

CHAPTER XXIII

OUR NORTHERN PROVINCE

The history of Alaska as an American Territory has been for the most part uneventful. It was the expectation of Seward and Sumner, the two statesmen who in 1867 took the deepest interest in the purchase, that the government would at once proceed to survey the coasts, explore the interior of the vast Territory, and in every way possible bring before the world the facts concerning Alaska's natural resources. Above all, they anticipated the establishment of a republican government, "with schools free to all, and with equal laws, before which every citizen will stand in the consciousness of manhood." Said Sumner: "Bestow such a government and you will give what is better than all you can receive, whether quintals of fish, sands of gold, choicest fur, or most beautiful ivory." But Congress found difficulty in applying the ordinary principles of Territorial government to this wilderness province, where a few hundred whites and some thirty thousand natives were scattered over immense areas under conditions rendering direct participation in a central government impossible. The first experiment, therefore, was to turn Alaska over to the war department, and govern it through a military governor. During one decade, 1867 to 1877, the army was in full control, and it is probable that this was the worst period of Alaskan history so far as social and moral conditions were concerned. The natives of Alaska were peaceful, and very

few troops were needed in the country under ordinary conditions, and the numerous petty Indian disturbances occurring during and after the military occupation are traceable in some measure to the misdeeds of the soldiery and to the fact that the natives were debauched with liquor.

For more than seven years following 1877 Alaska was left without any definite government, some surveillance being exercised however, mainly about the seal islands, by the officers of revenue cutters under the direction of the treasury department, or by cruisers belonging to the United States navy. Many statesmen believed that Alaska was a bad bargain, and that the best policy would be to reduce expenditures on behalf of this wild and worthless region to a minimum.

Various plans were proposed with reference to the country, one for example, being to make Alaska a county of Washington Territory for governmental purposes; but these schemes were not acceptable to Congress, and it was not until 1884 that Alaska received a civil organization. This measure, the organic act under which the Territory has been regulated during the past twenty years, was introduced in the Senate by Benjamin Harrison on the 4th of December, 1883, passed both Houses, and was approved by President Arthur on the 17th of May following. The act constituted Alaska a civil and judicial district, provided for the appointment of a governor, a judge, a district attorney, a clerk of court (to be also secretary, treasurer, and recorder), a marshal, and four United States commissioners, to be stationed at four of the principal towns, Sitka, Wrangell, Unalaska, and Juneau. The capital was temporarily fixed at Sitka. With such a minimum of government it was hoped the claims of this Territory might be indefinitely satisfied; and in Congress the disposition was to assume toward it an attitude of indifference for the future.

There was, however, within the limits of the new purchase, one source of revenue for the United States which received attention from time to time while all else relating

to the country was neglected. Several of the small islands of Bering Sea which fell to us under the treaty, notably St. Paul and St. George of the Prybilof group, were the principal breeding places of the fur seal. These animals had been seen on Bering Island, and their habits studied very carefully by Steller, the German naturalist attached to Bering's expedition of 1741. Soon after this, the Siberian fur hunters began capturing seals at Bering and Copper Islands, and later, in 1786, Prybilof discovered them on the island of St. Paul where their numbers were exceedingly great during the breeding season.

The indiscriminate slaughter of seals by the rival Russian traders reduced the herds to a fraction of their original size, and Rezanof, in 1805, ordered a temporary cessation of sealing at St. Paul. Thereafter the Russian-American Company sought to regulate the business and succeeded in preserving the herds, though with great fluctuations in their numbers, down to the time of the transfer of the country to the United States. In 1869 a company of San Francisco capitalists, already interested in the Alaska trade as successors to the Russian-American Company, organized the Alaska Commercial Company. In the following year this association obtained from the government a lease of the Prybilof Islands for twenty years, under the following conditions: The company agreed to pay, for the use of the islands, a rental of fifty-five thousand dollars per year; also a duty of two and two-thirds dollars on each seal skin shipped and fifty-five cents on each gallon of seal oil. It was at first stipulated that a total of one hundred thousand skins might be taken each year, providing that only male seals of at least twelve months old were killed to make up the quota. Later the terms were amended so as to allow the secretary of the treasury to determine, on the advice of experts, how many seals should be slaughtered from year to year. In 1890 a new contract was entered into with the North American Commercial Company, successor to the Alaska Commercial Company. The government was to

receive sixty thousand dollars per year as rental for the islands, a revenue tax of two dollars for each seal skin taken and shipped from the islands, and the further sum of seven dollars sixty-two and a half cents for every seal killed. The number that might be taken was to be fixed from year to year.

The arrangement has worked very well so far as relations with the company are concerned, and the revenue derived from the Seal Islands has always paid a good rate of interest on the government's outlay for the purchase of Alaska. But a grave difficulty arose about 1879 through the rapid development of pelagic, or deep sea, sealing. The success of this business, and conversely its baneful effect upon the seal fisheries as a whole, depends upon the peculiar habits of the fur seal. They leave the breeding places, or rookeries, on the islands about the end of October, the females and younger males following the ocean currents far to the south, even to Lower California, driven forward by the gradual lowering of temperature as the winter cold affects the ocean. The older males require a lower temperature, and therefore pass the winter in the neighborhood of Vancouver Island. The return migration, for breeding purposes, begins as soon as spring comes on, the old males appearing first and taking their positions on the beach in April and May. Toward the end of May the females begin to arrive in large numbers and continue to come in during the month of June. They are accompanied by many of the "bachelors" or younger males, which "haul out" on the rookeries only to be driven away by the old bulls. It is from this class of young males that the quota of skins is made up. The young are born on the islands, each female giving birth to a single pup, which it suckles during the summer season spent on the rookeries. But in this period, also, the mother seals are obliged to leave the islands for food, going for this purpose to the cod banks some two hundred miles away.

Since the seal is a polygamous animal, a single male (beach master) gathering round him a harem of from sixteen

to fifty or even one hundred females, little permanent damage can be inflicted upon the herd by the killing of the younger males. But the slaughter of females at almost any period is a serious loss. When taken on their fall or spring migration, the herd is injured not only by the number of females killed, but by the corresponding decrease in the prospective crop of young seal life. If captured while off on the feeding grounds during the summer breeding season, the loss of mother seals is exactly matched by the loss of young seals left to starve on the rookeries. During the season of 1894 twenty-three thousand young, which measures the number of mother seals captured, perished on the islands in this manner.

It can therefore be appreciated that it was a fact of most serious import, when, beginning about 1879, numbers of sailing vessels were fitted out at various ports in Canada, Japan, and the United States for the purpose of catching seals while migrating or feeding at a distance from the breeding grounds. Large numbers, the majority being females, were taken in this way, sometimes as many as one hundred and forty thousand being killed in a single year. Apprehending the rapid destruction of the herds, and wishing to put an end to pelagic sealing as the cause of the evil, the United States government adopted the theory once put forth by Russia, that Bering Sea was a closed sea, not an international highway, and that the government had the right to prevent trespass there by the ships of other nations. It gave orders for the capture of sealing vessels found in these waters, and in 1886 actually took a number of prizes, some of them being Canadian vessels. The result was a protracted diplomatic controversy with Great Britain, conducted on the part of the United States by James G. Blaine as secretary of state. It was finally agreed by treaty in 1892 to submit to arbitration the questions on which the claim of the United States of the right to police Bering Sea was based. The tribunal of arbitration met at Paris in 1893 and decided the matter against the United States, as they were

bound to do on the evidence, the theory of a closed sea being utterly untenable. The tribunal, however, acting under the treaty by which it was constituted, adopted rules to govern pelagic sealing, the principal of which was to establish a sixty-mile limit about the breeding islands, within which the United States should have the right to protect seal life. This regulation was of little real value, for during the migrating season it did not apply at all, as no seals are within the portion of the ocean thus protected, and during the breeding season the mother seals find their feeding ground far outside these limits.

In 1896 a new agreement was entered into between the United States and Great Britain, and a new and most thorough study of seal life was made by experts appointed by both governments, W. D'Arcy Thompson being the commissioner for Great Britain, and Dr. David Starr Jordan, the president of Leland Stanford, Jr. University, California, representing the United States. Elaborate reports were submitted by both, and at a meeting of the experts it was found that no serious disagreement existed as to the facts of seal life on which regulations for the protection of the herds must be based. A joint high commission of the two governments met at Quebec in September, 1898, but no practical solution of the sealing problem was reached either at that time or subsequently.

Meantime the herds continue to decrease at a rapid rate, and it seems probable that a still greater decrease will occur, until pelagic sealing becomes wholly unprofitable, when there will be a cessation of this method of destruction with a corresponding increase in the herds for some years. The United States Government has not abandoned the hope of making such arrangements with the other nations most interested in sealing, the British and Japanese in particular, as will afford the necessary protection to seals; but so far it is not clear what the solution will ultimately be. It has been proposed to brand the female seals on the backs, thus rendering the skins unsaleable, and it has also been suggested that during the open season (in August—the

period in which the largest loss occurs) the females at the islands should be driven inland to the lakes and not allowed to go to the feeding grounds. These are practical suggestions of scientific men.

While the seal fisheries constituted for many years the chief effective resource of Alaska Territory, it was known, or at least supposed, that there were rich mineral deposits. Sumner, in his comprehensive review of the "character and value of Russian-America," called especial attention to the presence of coal "all along the coast," and of copper at certain points, especially along Copper River. Silver and lead had been reported, and gold had been found on the Stikine, though in quantities that did not pay for working. He supposed, however, that since the same mountain chains which yielded this latter metal so abundantly farther south extended through Alaska, the metal might be found in this Territory also. During the entire period of American occupation there had been more or less prospecting near the coasts and inlets, and during the nineties miners overran portions of the Yukon country as well. Near the coast, in the vicinity of Juneau, extensive quartz veins were discovered, some of them being situated so advantageously with respect to working and transportation that even with low-grade ore large returns have been obtained. By the year 1899, the Juneau District was producing annually about six million dollars' worth of gold. The Treadwell Mine, on Douglas Island, near Juneau, was at that time running machinery aggregating eight hundred stamps, one of the largest mills in the world.

But the evolution of Alaska as the nation's latest El Dorado dates from the discovery of the rich placer deposits along the Klondike River, a branch of the Yukon lying directly to the east of the one hundred and forty-first meridian. The discovery was made in 1896. The next season the "rush" began, both from Canada and the United States, which resulted in the filling up of the Klondike district, the building of Dawson, the opening of transportation

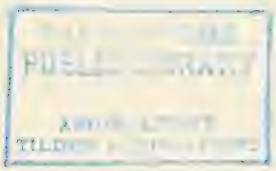
routes from the southeastern Alaska coast over the mountains to the Upper Yukon, and the rapid development of Alaskan commercial towns like Skagway and Dyea. Most important of all, the rush to the Klondike led to the thorough prospecting of many districts in the interior of Alaska, with important discoveries at many places, the most notable being the enormously rich placers about Cape Nome.

The Klondike "rush" is responsible for most of the commercial development which Alaska has witnessed since the purchase. Henry Villard tells in his notes on a *Journey to Alaska*, in 1899, about his impressions of the Alaska trade, as it was twenty-three years earlier. In April, 1876, he sailed from San Francisco to Portland. "On reaching the mouth of the Columbia River," he says, "we saw a little screw steamer of 300 tons register dancing up and down on the agitated sea. It proved to be the *Gussie Telfair*, belonging to the company [Oregon Steamship Company], on her way from Alaska to Portland, but detained outside by the rough sea on the bar. She brought down from the recently acquired American possession three passengers, a score of tons of miscellaneous freight, and a letter-bag with less than thirty letters. . . . The trifling load described was about equal to the average one for a trip one way [made once a month], and the business of the year aggregated only a few hundred passengers and not exceeding 700 tons of other than government freight. That represented practically the total of the Alaska trade of those days, and it grew very slowly. . . . During the last and the present seasons [1898 and 1899] fifteen steamers, ranging from two thousand seven hundred down to a few hundred tons capacity, carried tens of thousands of passengers and freight aggregating not less than a hundred thousand tons to and from Alaska."

This, from one point of view, summarizes the story of the opening of our northern province, a process which has been going on during the past eight years as the awakened commerce has brought in its train developments of all sorts.



The summit of Chilcoot Pass, showing packers and the Peterson trail.


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Lines of steamers have been placed upon the Yukon; trails have been opened by several routes from the coast to the same river; and a railroad has for six years been running from Skagway, at the head of Lynn Canal, through White Pass to Lake Bennett, which communicates with the upper Yukon. In this way have the dangers of the mountain defiles, the Chilkat and Chilkoot Passes, painted in such lurid colors during the early Klondike period, been overcome, and the traveller can to-day reach Dawson from Seattle by boat and rail with comparatively little inconvenience. For inland transportation, and as an aid in rendering the far northern Eskimos self-supporting, the government has encouraged the rearing of reindeer, of which there are now several thousand in Alaska. A military road has been opened from Valdez, on Prince William Sound, by way of Copper River and inland across the mountains to the Yukon; and it is understood that several lines of railroad are in contemplation which aim to connect this Sound, Cook Inlet, and other southern ports with the Yukon and Cape Nome.

But in Alaska, as in the older Pacific Territories, mining has stimulated agriculture, the cost of supplies, brought from great distances and "packed" over mountain trails, being so great as to render necessary the home production of provisions. So, while the majority of the emigrants prospected for gold, a few tilled the soil and raised flocks and herds, to feed the gold hunters. The country is adapted to agriculture, inasmuch as the whole of the south coast, from Dixon Entrance to the end of the long western peninsula, is climatically greatly modified by the warm Japan current. It has been asserted by officers of the United States Agricultural Experiment Station on Cook Inlet that in this locality, about sixty degrees above the equator, the thermometer in three successive winters at no time fell lower than fifteen degrees below zero. It is declared that all ordinary grains, vegetables, and even fruits, will flourish in these and many other regions, and that, in the aggregate,

large areas of farm land await the coming of the husbandman, dairyman, and stock raiser.

One reason for the slowness of agricultural development probably lies in the absence of a satisfactory land law. There has been no regular way for settlers to secure land. None has been surveyed, no lines have been run, and the risk involved in "squatting" upon a tract of land in the hope of ultimately securing it is consequently too great to be assumed under ordinary circumstances. This fact has deterred settlers from seeking homes in Alaska.

A large number of canning factories have within recent years been established on the inlets and bays of Alaska, to engage in the packing of salmon. This fish has always been extremely abundant in Alaskan waters, and early travellers reported that the movement of boats through the streams was literally impeded by them. Such conditions no longer exist; yet, under proper regulations, it seems reasonable to expect that the salmon fisheries will remain a permanent resource of Alaska. Their annual value already exceeds the original price paid for the country. Other fisheries exist along the coast, and Alaskan waters are still visited by large numbers of whaling vessels.

The great spruce forests of southern Alaska will probably remain for many years one of the principal lumbering resources of the United States, rivalling in that respect the fir and pine forests of the Pacific Northwest and California. A few saw mills have been established, but thus far lumber for building purposes has been shipped to Alaska from Puget Sound, the general supply station of the northern country.

With seals, other furs, salmon, cod, and whales, an awakening agriculture, extensive coal and petroleum fields, and vast forests, its gold, silver, copper, and lead, it seems unlikely that Alaska will ever be of less importance to the United States than it now is; and there is some reason for the confident anticipations of those who predict for this great province a marvellous development during the present century.

The Klondike gold rush had one political result of much more than passing interest. It has been seen that the customary way of reaching the Yukon gold fields was by ship to the head of Lynn Canal, and thence by one of several passes over the mountains. The alternative route was by steamer to St. Michael, above the mouth of the Yukon, and thence by the river steamers to the upper waters of that stream. This, however, was a very long route as compared with the other, and moreover it was blocked by ice during the greater portion of the year. Travel therefore gradually abandoned the northern route and concentrated upon the other.

Since the Klondike region was clearly within the limits of British America the Canadians were naturally desirous of securing some route traversing their territory throughout. Such an arrangement would simplify matters relating to transportation, the collection of duties, and policing, and enable Canada rather than the United States to profit from the commercial activity thus engendered by the mining development. The first line of demarcation between Russian America and British America was provided for in the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia. The treaty of 1867, by which the United States received the cession of Alaska, simply repeated the boundary clauses agreed upon in 1825. These were in the original French draft as follows:

"La ligne de démarcation entre les Possessions des Hautes Parties Contractantes sur la Côte du Continent et les Iles de l'Amérique Nord-Ouest, sera-tracée ainsi qu'il suit:

"A partir du Point le plus méridional de l'Ile dite *Prince of Wales*, lequel Point se trouve sous la parallèle du 54me degré 40 minutes de latitude Nord, et entre le 131me et 133me degré de longitude Ouest (Méridien de Greenwich), la dite ligne remontera au Nord de long de la passe dite *Portland Channel*, jusqu'au Point de la terre ferme où elle atteint le 56me degré latitude Nord; de ce dernier point la ligne de démarcation suivra la crête des montagnes situées parallèlement à la Côte, jusqu'au point d'intersection du 141me degré de longitude Ouest (même Méridien); et finalement, du dit point d'intersection, la même ligne méridienne du 141me degré formera, dans son prolongement

jusqu'à la Mer Glaciale, la limite entre les Possessions Russes et Britanniques sur le Continent de l'Amérique Nord-Ouest.

"Il est entendu, par rapport à la ligne de démarcation déterminée dans l'Article précédent;

"1. Que l'Isle dite *Prince of Wales* appartiendra toute entière a la Russie.

"2. Que partout où la crête des montagnes qui s'étendent dans une direction parallèle a la Côte depuis le 56me degré de latitude Nord au point d'intersection du 141me degré de longitude Ouest, se trouveroit à la distance de plus de dix lieues marines de l'Océan, la limite entre les Possessions Britanniques et la lisière de Côte mentionnée ci-dessus comme devant appartenir à la Russie, sera formée par une ligne parallèle aux sinuosités de la Côte, et qui ne pourra jamais en être éloignée que de dix lieues marines.

"Il est convenu en outre, que nul Etablissement ne sera formé par l'une des deux Parties dans les limites que les deux Articles précédens assignent aux Possessions de l'Autre. En conséquence, les Sujets Britanniques ne formeront aucun Etablissement soit sur la Côte, soit sur la lisière de terre ferme comprise dans les limites des Possessions Russes, telles qu'elles sont désignées dans les deux Articles précédens; et, de même, nul Etablissement ne sera formé par des Sujets Russes au delà des dites limites."

[ART. III. The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent and the islands of Northwest America shall be traced as follows:

Starting from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales, which point is situated on the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes of north latitude and between the 131st and 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend northward along the passage called *Portland Channel* as far as the point of the mainland, where it [the line] reaches the 56th degree of north latitude; from this latter point the line of demarcation shall follow the crest of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (same meridian); and finally, from said point of intersection the same meridian line of the 141st degree shall form, in its extension as far as the Arctic Ocean, the boundary between the Russian and British possessions upon the continent of Northwest America.

ART. IV. It is understood with regard to the line of demarcation fixed in the preceding article;

1. That the island called Prince of Wales shall belong wholly to Russia.

2. That wherever the crest of the mountains which stretch in a direction parallel to the coast from the 56th degree of north latitude to the



Main street in Nome.



point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude may lie at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the boundary between the British possessions and the coast strip mentioned above as having to belong to Russia shall be formed by a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, and which can in no case be more distant therefrom than ten leagues.

ART. V. It is moreover agreed that no establishment shall be formed by either of the two parties within the limits which the two preceding articles assigned to the possessions of the other. Consequently, British subjects shall not form any establishment either upon the coast or upon the mainland strip comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions as they are designated in the two preceding articles, and in like wise no establishment shall be formed by Russian subjects beyond the said limits.]

That portion of the boundary line which follows the one hundred and forty-first meridian was not a matter of dispute, except as to the point of intersection of the previously described line with it. The difficulty arose over the line starting from the southernmost extremity of Prince of Wales Island, running along Portland Channel, and by the "crest of the mountains." It had always been taken for granted by the interested parties, namely, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, that the intention of the treaty of 1825 was to leave a continuous strip of coast in the hands of Russia. This is shown by the Russian administration of the territory prior to 1840, by the fact that such a strip was leased from Russia and administered by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1840–1867, and by the unchallenged occupation and control of this territory by the United States from the time of the purchase to the year 1898. The theory of all parties, so far as expressed, or clearly implied, in their acts, was that this strip was of the width of about thirty miles, and that it was determined by a line drawn parallel to the coast, as defined by the contact of the sea with the land; that this coast line, so defined, throughout its extent and following all the sinuosities caused by bays and inlets, should be taken as the basis of calculation, rather than any supposed range of mountains which might or might not parallel such coast line at the distance of thirty miles or less. In fact it had long since appeared,

from the explorations of Americans in this region, that no such continuous range of mountains existed as the negotiators of 1825 took for granted; and therefore the line must, according to Article IV of the treaty, "follow the sinuosities of the coast."

Shortly after the beginning of the Klondike gold rush, however, Great Britain, urged thereto by the demands of Canada, began to put forth a different construction of this boundary treaty. Her claim was, in effect, that the coast line intended to be described in Articles III and IV of the treaty of 1825 was the general coast line of the continent as contemplated in international law when nations are guaranteed rights of jurisdiction over one marine league of the open sea; the line for this purpose extending along the mainland only, and cutting across bays and inlets "from headland to headland." It was claimed, too, that this interpretation was borne out by the existence of a line of mountain masses and peaks, extending generally parallel to this coast line, but likewise cutting across the inlets. Should such an interpretation obtain, it would leave Lynn Canal, always regarded as wholly within American territory, extending more than fifty miles beyond our eastern boundary; it would provide an all-Canadian route from Dawson to the sea; and it would give to Canada control over those commercial centres, like Skagway, whose development was originally due to the Klondike gold rush.

The dispute over the question was carried on until the 24th of January, 1903, when Secretary of State John Hay, on the part of the United States, and Ambassador Herbert on the part of Great Britain, concluded a treaty on the subject at Washington. It was therein agreed to submit all the questions involved in the boundary dispute to a special international tribunal, to be composed of three commissioners appointed by the King of Great Britain and three appointed by the President of the United States. The members of the tribunal were to be "impartial jurists of repute," and were to "consider judicially the questions submitted to

them. . . ." President Roosevelt appointed, as the American members of the tribunal, Henry Cabot Lodge, United States senator from Massachusetts, Elihu Root, secretary of war, and George Turner, ex-United States senator from the State of Washington. King Edward appointed two members from Canada, Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. Aylesworth, and named as the third member Lord Alverstone, the Chief Justice of England.

The tribunal met in London during the summer of 1903. Each side presented its case, elaborately worked out and printed in book form, as well as a more concise publication containing its argument. Every disputed point was gone into with the utmost thoroughness. It was clearly demonstrated by the United States that the actual shore line, with all its sinuosities, including the coasts of the farthest projecting fiords, was intended by the makers of the treaty of 1825 as the basis for determining the eastern boundary of Alaska; and that to Russia was left by this treaty a continuous strip of coast, about thirty miles wide, stretching from Mount St. Elias to the southern boundary, near the parallel of fifty-four degrees forty minutes.

This view was so convincingly set forth in the American case and argument that Lord Alverstone unhesitatingly joined the American members of the tribunal in awarding the decision to the United States, though some slight concessions were made to Canada. The two Canadian members dissented, but since, according to the terms of the treaty of January 24, 1903, a majority of the tribunal could bind the two parties, the boundary question was finally settled.

Aside from the importance of the matter as it relates to Alaska, this episode had a more general significance. It demonstrated the possibility of settling grave international disputes upon the high ground of legal right, as ascertained by the best minds of the nations involved, and gave the world one more lesson in the avoidance of war. The attitude of Lord Alverstone in this case will always stand as a luminous precedent, and will doubtless influence other men

to divest themselves of the national bias when dealing with judicial and historical questions involving national rights.

Much has been done by American explorers within forty years to open up the interior of the country to the knowledge of the world; missionaries and teachers have been establishing churches and schools, work in which the government has given assistance. Alaska is no longer a *terra incognita*, though its resources are still but imperfectly understood. Congress has constantly been importuned to treat this "the nation's step-child" in a more liberal spirit. Finally, in the session of Congress just closed as this volume goes to press, the questions of a Territorial government and a delegate in Congress were under discussion, and provision was made by which Alaska may be represented in that body.





County Court House, Los Angeles.

CHAPTER XXIV

RECENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS

THE time has not yet come for writing fully and finally about the political contests marking the past forty years in the history of the Pacific coast commonwealths, for their results are not yet determined. Yet this volume may properly be expected to include at least an outline sketch which shall summarize the more significant movements of the period.

The Civil War affected the Pacific coast less than it did other sections of the country because of the extreme remoteness of this section from the centres of disturbances, yet stirring episodes show that the people on the Western Ocean were powerfully swayed by the feelings dominant in the great contest whose field was the East. Some of the characteristics of the Border States reappeared in the communities along the Pacific; their populations, drawn from every part of the country, retained the sentiments and sympathies of the States from which they came. In California, as we have already seen, and the same thing was true in Oregon and Washington Territory, were to be found many adherents of the Southern cause. The Territory of Idaho, set off in 1863, had an even larger Southern element. When the war began, an unprecedented emigration set in across the Rockies from the Border States, many, if not most of the emigrants, being Southern sympathizers seeking to escape from the disturbed conditions prevailing in their home States. They settled in Colorado, Montana, and

Idaho, where mining camps were being planted, or passed to the agricultural sections of Oregon, Washington, and California. In Idaho the population was still small when this tide set in, and as a result the Territory remained for several years under the political control of the Southerners. The influence of this influx of new people was felt in Oregon and Washington politics likewise, but to a less extent.

At the opening of the war period the three most conspicuous men in Pacific coast politics were Senator William McKendree Gwin, of California; Senator Joseph Lane, of Oregon, and General Isaac Ingalls Stevens, delegate to Congress from the Territory of Washington. All three were earnest Democrats and all were supposed to be favorable to the slavery interest. But the time of stress affected their fortunes variously. In California the struggle of 1859 and 1860 demonstrated that a majority of the people were loyal to the Union.

By the spring of 1861 a telegraph line had been completed as far west as Fort Kearney, on Platte River. In April of that year the wire carried the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The message was at once forwarded by pony express riders, one copy to Denver, one to Salt Lake, and the third to San Francisco. This startling intelligence had the immediate effect of crystallizing political sentiment on the Pacific coast. It stimulated the organization of the Union party, which came then into definite control in these States; it led to the enlistment of troops, some of which served in the East, while others, especially those companies raised in the Northwest, performed the important service of protecting this exposed region against Indian outbreaks and the possibility of attacks from the national enemy.

Senator Gwin took up actively the cause of the South and Senator Lane was disposed to follow in his footsteps. The latter, in 1860, had been given the nomination for the vice-presidency on the Breckinridge ticket; but in spite of Lane's wide popularity, that ticket was overwhelmingly

defeated in Oregon as it was in California by Republicans and Douglas Democrats.

Gwin and Lane, indeed, are believed to have had some hope of detaching the Pacific coast from the national cause by establishing a Pacific Republic, but in attempting this they not only greatly overestimated their personal influence, but they minimized the strength of national feeling. When Lane returned to Oregon in May, 1861, at the same time as the news arrived of the capture of Fort Sumter, he discovered that his former influence over the Oregon people was gone. The story that he tried to smuggle in boxes of guns and ammunition to be carried to southern Oregon for the purpose of equipping troops for the Confederacy to be raised there is apocryphal; but without doubt he would have given aid to the Southern people had he found it possible to do so. Being thwarted in his plans he retired to a farm in Douglas County, where he lived for many years, dying at Roseburg in 1881. Though esteemed for many engaging personal qualities, his undoubted abilities, and the services he had rendered to Oregon and the Northwest, Lane's attitude toward the great question of the sixties closed to him every avenue to political preferment.

The career of General Stevens is in marked contrast to those of Gwin and Lane. Stevens returned to Puget Sound from the East about the time of Lane's arrival in Oregon in the spring of 1861. But he, unlike Lane and Gwin, came to inform his constituents of his determination to support the Union. His strong personal and political influence did much to augment the national sentiment in Washington Territory, and his brilliant military career, closed so dramatically a few months later on the field of Chantilly, enshrined him in the hearts of the Washington people.

Oregon and California also had their war heroes. One, whose memory is cherished by both States alike, is Colonel Edward D. Baker. He had at one time lived in Illinois, where he became a friend of Abraham Lincoln. Afterward he removed to California, and in 1860 he went to Oregon

to aid in the organization of the Republican party. His brilliant oratory, so well calculated to sway the masses in a heated political canvass (Lincoln had once pronounced him "a good man to raise a wind") insured the election of Baker to the United States Senate to succeed General Lane. He had been in Congress but a short time when he gave up the work of legislation and went to the front at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment. He was killed at the second battle of Bull Run.

After the close of the Civil War railroad building became, as we have seen, the predominant interest of the Pacific coast, California being affected by it some years earlier than the Northwest. This movement and the development which it insured precipitated new problems upon the people and their lawmakers. Even before the completion of the Central Pacific there began in California a powerful agitation for the legal regulation of passenger and freight rates. Though nothing was done at the time, public sentiment brought about the passage of a law about ten years later, 1876, which created a State railway commission.

The evils complained of were the usual ones: excessive rates in general, discrimination in favor of the large shipper as against the small, special rates to favored towns, differing rates for long and short hauls. The Central Pacific Railway Company took an active part in State politics, and a contest between the railroads and the people raged with extreme violence for many years. It would be untrue, indeed, to say that this railroad war is ended, but conditions in recent years have been far less tense than at earlier periods.

The Northwest has not escaped the necessity of solving similar problems. The questions of rates and discrimination has been before all these States at various times. Oregon, whose principal town is located near the mouth of the Columbia, has always been desirous of cheap transportation between the Inland Empire and the seacoast by water. Accordingly, the rates charged by the railroad which parallels the river and up to the present time has controlled the

means of transportation around the one remaining portage—between the upper end of the Great Falls (Celilo) and the lower end of the Dalles, that at the Cascades being already overcome by the completion of the government canal and locks—have appeared to the Oregon and Washington people as too high. With some cheap means of carrying freight around the portage, the cost of transportation from Lewiston, Idaho, to the sea would be determined by the expense of water carriage, as the railway would be forced under such conditions to lower its rates to the point at which it could compete with the steamboats. The ideal solution of the problem is, of course, the construction of a canal and locks around the Dalles and Great Falls, an object toward the attainment of which the business men of the Northwest have been laboring for many years. Latterly the movement has taken such firm hold upon the politics of the entire Northwest, that Congress has at last acted, and preparations are now under way for building the canal. In the meantime, the State of Oregon has provided for the construction of a portage railway, which is now completed (May, 1905).

In the State of Washington, which with Oregon and Idaho is interested in the open river, a special railroad problem exists, and in recent years has become pressing. Since the completion of the Northern Pacific the mileage of Washington railroads has increased very rapidly. Both the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern cross the State from east to west, terminating at the Sound, and another line extends northward from Seattle to meet the Canadian Pacific. There has been much complaint of discrimination against the interior towns. This, with other common evils of railroading, has led to a demand for a railroad commission to regulate rates and protect the interests of shippers. After much discussion during several political campaigns, a railroad commission bill was passed by the last Washington legislature.

An important question in all these States is the securing of the construction of short lines of railroad to open up

promising new regions and thus develop rapidly the resources of the country. The people think that the great roads have not shown a proper eagerness in the pursuit of this object nor have they encouraged the building of branch roads on the part of independent companies. Indeed, it has always been difficult in the Northwest for roads built as feeders to the main lines to secure liberal terms from the great companies for hauling freight from the points of junction to the markets reached only by the main lines. A law passed by the Oregon legislature of this year, 1905, deals with this question.

Closely bound up in origin with the history of railroad building is that of Chinese immigration. A few Celestials came to San Francisco as early as 1848, two men and one woman constituting the first party. By the beginning of the year 1850 the number of arrivals had reached seven hundred and eighty-nine, and by August, 1852, there were more than eighteen thousand in the country. Nearly all were men, arriving from Hong Kong in English vessels. They sought employment in San Francisco as restaurant keepers, cooks, laundrymen, general servants, gardeners, etc. But large numbers of them drifted off to the mines, where they first came in conflict with the interests of Americans. Sometimes they were driven away with much violence, not infrequently Chinamen were killed in the mines, and, in general, their lot was unenviable except for the fact that they were usually successful in obtaining gold, with which thousands returned home each year. The State law drew from them, as foreign miners, a large amount of revenue, yet they succeeded by industry, and a thrift which Americans could not hope to match, in making money in the placer mines.

Meantime, the construction of railways had begun; and since white laborers in sufficient numbers were impossible to secure, the companies not only employed the Chinese already in the country, but imported large numbers of them. Thus, by the year 1876 the number of Chinese in California had

risen to the startling figure of one hundred and sixteen thousand. The legislature had taken various measures to prevent their admission at the ports, but its acts were declared unconstitutional. Meantime, the agitation against the Chinese by the white laboring classes had brought the seriousness of the problem to the attention of Congress.

By this time, Chinese immigration had begun to affect the labor situation in all the Pacific Coast States and Territories; indeed, the Chinese were beginning to cross the Rocky Mountains and threatened to overrun the country to the eastward. Anti-Chinese riots occurred in California towns in 1877, and were continued in Oregon and Washington for a number of years. A commission, headed by President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, was sent to China in 1880 to secure such changes in the existing treaties between the two countries as would permit the United States to control immigration. As a result of these negotiations, Congress in May, 1882, passed the Chinese Exclusion Law. This did not put an end to lawless violence against the Chinese, some of the most bloody and outrageous of the "riots" occurring after the passage of the Act. Foreign laboring classes of the white race were usually responsible for these deplorable lapses from social decency, though political agitators of the demagogic type cannot be held blameless in the matter. But the Pacific Coast has practically outgrown all danger from Chinese labor, and the forces of law and order now have such firm control everywhere as to render further outbreaks of violence against the Mongolians unlikely. Labor troubles, only in part, however, the outgrowth of the Chinese question, have constituted one of the most serious problems of the coast in recent years, especially in California.

One result of the rapid growth in population brought about by railroad building was the admission of the Territories of Washington and Idaho into the Union as States. In Washington the agitation for statehood began shortly

after the close of the Civil War, the first legislative action on the subject dating from 1868. But the people cared little for State government, which would have been a burden rather than a help during the period when Washington's population was only a few thousand. Several votes were taken on the question of calling a convention to frame a constitution, but it was not until 1876 that a majority favorable to such a measure could be secured. A convention was held in Walla Walla in June, 1878, and a constitution adopted which, being submitted to the voters in November of the same year, was ratified by a good majority.

Congress, however, was not prepared to pass an act admitting the new applicant, and it was to be a long time before a State constitution could become operative. Washington in 1876 had approximately forty thousand people. In 1880 it had but seventy-five thousand, less than the number required to give the State a representative in Congress. In the next decade the revolution came, railroad construction and other activities bringing to Washington a marvellous increase of population, reaching in 1890 a total of nearly three hundred and fifty thousand. Accordingly on February 22, 1889, the enabling act was passed. By the terms of this law another constitutional convention was held at Olympia on July 4, 1889, which adopted the instrument under which this rapidly growing and progressive State has since been governed. The constitution was ratified by a vote of 40,152 in favor to 11,379 against. State officers were at once elected, and the new order of things inaugurated, and Washington was formally admitted to the Union November 11, 1889.

In Idaho an interesting question during the sixties and seventies was as to the annexation of the northern part—the "Panhandle"—of that territory to Washington. This was usually a political question, the Idaho delegate in Congress occasionally favoring the scheme. The reason for it was the almost complete lack in early times of the means



Hall of Justice, Portsmouth Square, San Francisco.



of communication between the northern and southern portions of the Territory. Eventually, however, the mere progress in population solved the problem, and sentiment developed in favor of the creation of a State including the whole of Idaho. This result was largely due to the completion of the southern railroad, the Oregon Short Line, from Granger, Wyoming, across southern Idaho in 1885. It gave southern Idaho an outlet to the Pacific, stimulated commerce, mining, and agriculture, and led to a rapid increase in population. This section of the Territory was especially favored in its opportunities for irrigation, and hundreds of thousands of acres were rendered marvellously productive. The population in 1880 was 32,610; in 1890 it was 84,385. Wealth was increasing at a corresponding rate, roads were being opened by the Territory between the southern and northern sections, public institutions were established, and the people of Idaho, north and south, came to have a unity of sentiment and aims. All parties, by the year 1888, favored the creation of a State government; and without awaiting the action of Congress, a convention was called to meet at Boise City, July 4, 1889, for the purpose of adopting a constitution. In September the work of the convention was completed; and the instrument of government being submitted to the people, it was promptly ratified. In the following year, 1890, Idaho was admitted into the Union.

At the present time the great interests of the Pacific coast are economic. The development of foreign commerce with the Orient, and with other portions of the world, has become extremely important. This growth has inclined the people of this region to the support of the policy of expansion and accounts largely for the overwhelming majority given by each of these four States to President Roosevelt in 1904.

Among the movements for the economic betterment of the people no single fact stands out more conspicuously than the progress of irrigation. Here, as in the case of the

Chinese immigration, the Pacific coast has had an important influence in fixing national policies. Irrigation as a private enterprise early established itself in California, and with the opening of the railroad era, which made fruit growing so important an occupation there, it developed with wonderful rapidity. State laws were adopted to promote irrigation, to protect water rights, and to regulate the great irrigation companies which sprang up in every favorable locality. Of the other States of this group Idaho was next to California in the rapidity with which irrigation works were developed. But Washington and Oregon are now intensely interested in the subject and irrigation occupies much attention in the State legislatures. Largely through the instrumentality of these western States—that is all the States west of the Rocky Mountains—the national irrigation law was secured in 1902 which has opened a new era with respect to the means of development. Vast projects, contemplating the reclamation of millions of acres, are at this time under consideration by the national government, the State governments, and private corporations. The reclaimable areas of interior deserts are rapidly being transformed into the most productive sections of the United States, and are furnishing homes for hundreds of thousands of people. Nor is this all; the idea of artificially supplying water to growing crops, applied in arid regions from necessity, is spreading to other portions of the country. National irrigation congresses are being held with results that promise to be of the highest importance to the agricultural progress of the country. Even western Oregon, popularly supposed to have a redundance of rainfall, is becoming convinced of the economy of summer irrigation, by means of which the productiveness of the land is found to be doubled or trebled. It is true that in some of the older irrigated sections the problem of conserving the water supply has become serious, the resources having been expended with too great prodigality; but it is reasonable to expect that this problem, and others of a similar nature, will be solved in good time.

The Pacific coast, once almost universally condemned as a country possessing comparatively little agricultural land, is not only disproving popular beliefs, but has become the starting point of great economic movements of national effect and significance.

Looking back over the hundred and thirty-six years which have intervened between the settlement of San Diego and the present there is seen to have grown up in the vast region first entered by Spanish colonists fifteen hundred miles of continuous settlement, mostly the result of seventy years of American enterprise. There are seen the beginnings of a wholly new development in the far North, and important interests in the Pacific Ocean which must be credited, in large measure, to the history of this region.

The four million or more American people living along this western frontier have won for themselves and the world a state of civilization which assimilates them thoroughly to the older communities of the United States; although in some sections the mere fact of newness gives an exaggerated impression of crudity which is not borne out by a more familiar acquaintance with western society. Pioneering has had its drawbacks as well as its advantages, but the work of social amelioration through education in its broadest sense has gone on in these communities from their very beginnings, with results that are highly gratifying. Literature, art, and science find a congenial atmosphere and are flourishing here as in older portions of the United States. Some of the institutions of learning, notably the two great universities of California, have already gained a worldwide recognition. Conditions of life vary from place to place as is to be expected in so large and so new a country. Some districts illustrate, perhaps, the most thoroughly ideal conditions thus far attained anywhere within the United States. Among the most advanced are the irrigated fruit growing sections, where the inhabitants live in the country with most of the advantages of the city within easy reach.

Holdings are small, the labor of tillage pleasant, the surroundings both beautiful and healthful. The almost continuous villages have the very best school facilities, churches, markets, and opportunities for social recreation and improvement. Good roads and electric railways make travel and transportation easy. Much wealth has collected in these districts; and a large number of their inhabitants are persons of superior education. With the progress of population, the development of intensive agriculture, especially under irrigation, and the general growth of wealth, the tendency everywhere is to approximate this type. In many places economic conditions render anything so nearly perfect impossible; but changes in this direction are very rapid. At the opposite social pole there is the ranch life of the interior plains, where neighbors live from ten to forty miles apart, communicating only rarely with each other. In some spots may be found the pioneer farmer, living in a secluded valley in a rude log house, killing large game like the deer and bear for a part of his food supply, and bringing up a family with the very minimum of social opportunity. The girdled trees, corduroy road and split-log bridge, the characteristic marks, with the log house, of pioneer life, are yet to be found in many parts of Washington and Oregon, and in some sections of California. But they are a rapidly vanishing feature. Every community begins to feel, with greater or less force, the effects of new schemes of social improvement. The movement for good roads, consolidation of rural schools, and universal telephone connection have already made headway. Plans for utilizing the water powers of this country in developing extensive systems of electric railway, and for the general supply of power for all uses, are also being realized; and the possibilities in this direction are almost infinite.

In conclusion, it is fitting to point out that the people of the Pacific slope are fully alive to the strategic importance of their position in the historical scheme of national development. They realize that much of the present advantage with reference to the Orient is due to their efforts and

sacrifices in the past; and they expect peculiar advantages to come to this region in the immediate future from the movements now in operation on the opposite shores of the Pacific. There is among them much evidence of that abounding hopefulness, that joyous anticipation of the future, which often characterize vigorous new communities on the threshold of great transformations.

APPENDIX I

CONVENTION WITH GREAT BRITAIN, OCTOBER 20, 1818

Which defined the boundary line to the Rocky Mountains and provided for the joint occupancy of Oregon.

[Article I defines the extent of fishing rights.]

ART. II. It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States, and those of His Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

ART. III. It is agreed, that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbours, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open, for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two Powers: it being well understood, that this agreement is not to be

construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences amongst themselves.

[Article IV continues for ten years the convention of 1815. Articles V and VI relate to indemnity for slaves carried away by the British; and to ratification.]

Signed by,

ALBERT GALLATIN.
RICHARD RUSH.
FREDERICK JOHN ROBINSON.
HENRY GOULBURN.

APPENDIX II

TREATY WITH SPAIN, FEBRUARY 22, 1819

By which Spain's northern limit on the Pacific was fixed.

[Article I declares amity.]

ART. II. His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, in full property and sovereignty, all the territories which belonged to him, situated to the eastward of the Mississippi, known by the name of East and West Florida. The adjacent islands dependent on said provinces, all public lots and squares, vacant lands, public edifices, fortifications, barracks, and other buildings, which are not private property, archives and documents, which relate directly to the property and sovereignty of said provinces, are included in this article. The said archives and documents shall be left in possession of the commissaries or officers of the United States, duly authorized to receive them.

ART. III. The boundary line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulph of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then, crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the river Arkansas, thence, following the course of the southern bank

of the Arkansas, to its source, in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea. The whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the first of January, 1818. But if the source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due north or south, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea: All the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas Rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters, and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories described by the said line, that is to say: The United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories east and north of the said line, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever.

[Article IV provides for the appointment of boundary commissioners. Article V stipulates that religious freedom be enjoyed, and provides for the free removal of persons from the ceded territory.]

ART. VI. The inhabitants of the territories which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, by this treaty, shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal

Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States.

[Article VII provides for the withdrawal of Spanish troops.]

ART. VIII. All the grants of land made before the 24th of January, 1818, by His Catholic Majesty, or by his lawful authorities, in the said territories ceded by His Majesty to the United States, shall be ratified and confirmed to the persons in possession of the lands, to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the territories had remained under the dominion of His Catholic Majesty. But the owners in possession of such lands, who, by reason of the recent circumstances of the Spanish nation, and the revolutions in Europe, have been prevented from fulfilling all the conditions of their grants, shall complete them within the terms limited in the same, respectively, from the date of this treaty; in default of which the said grants shall be null and void. All grants made since the said 24th of January, 1818, when the first proposal, on the part of His Catholic Majesty, for the cession of the Floridas was made, are hereby declared and agreed to be null and void.

[Articles IX to XVI deal with the settlement of claims by the United States arising out of the army operations in Florida; a former convention and treaty; the mutual arrest of deserting sailors; claims against France; privileges for Spanish ships in the ports of Pensacola and St. Augustine; and the ratification of the treaty.]

Signed by

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
LUIS DE ONIS.

APPENDIX III

CONVENTION WITH RUSSIA, APRIL 17, 1824

By which the southern limit of Russia's Northwest Coast possessions was fixed.

ART. I. IT is agreed that, in any part of the Great Ocean, or South Sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting Powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives, saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles.

ART. II. With a view of preventing the rights of navigation and of fishing exercised upon the Great Ocean by the citizens and subjects of the high contracting Powers from becoming the pretext for an illicit trade, it is agreed that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishments of the United States upon the northwest coast.

ART. III. It is moreover agreed that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said States, any establishment upon the Northwest coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, to the north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, south of the same parallel.

ART. IV. It is, nevertheless, understood that during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both Powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects respectively, may reciprocally frequent without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country.

ART. V. All spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war of every kind, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two Powers engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor suffer them to be sold, to the natives by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any person who may be under their authority. It is likewise stipulated that this restriction shall never afford a pretext, nor be advanced, in any case, to authorize either search or detention of the vessels, seizure of the merchandize, or, in fine, any measures of constraint whatever towards the merchants or the crews who may carry on this commerce; the high contracting Powers reciprocally reserving to themselves to determine upon the penalties to be incurred, and to inflict the punishments in case of the contravention of this article by their respective citizens or subjects.

ART. VI. When this convention shall have been duly ratified by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and, on the other, by His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington in the space of ten months from the date below, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 17/5 April of the year of Grace one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four.

HENRY MIDDLETON. [L. S.]
LE COMTE CHARLES DE NESSELRODE. [L. S.]
PIERRE DE POLETICA. [L. S.]

APPENDIX IV

TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN, JUNE 15, 1846

Which fixed the limit westward of the Rocky Mountains

ART. I. From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between the United States and Great Britain terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the United States and those of Her Britannic Majesty shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean: Provided, however, that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits, south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties.

ART. II. From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual portages along the line thus described shall, in like manner, be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on

the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing, or intended to prevent, the Government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers not inconsistent with the present treaty.

ART. III. In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory, shall be respected.

ART. IV. The farms, lands, and other property of every description belonging to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, on the north side of the Columbia River, shall be confirmed to the said company. In case, however, the situation of these farms and lands should be considered by the United States to be of public and political importance, and the United States Government should signify a desire to obtain possession of the whole, or of any part thereof, the property so required shall be transferred to the said Government, at a proper valuation, to be agreed upon between the parties.

ART. V. The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, at the expiration of six months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

JAMES BUCHANAN. [L.S.]
RICHARD PAKENHAM. [L.S.]

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